

**A POLICY OF HONESTY:
ELECTION MANIFESTO
PLEDGE FULFILMENT IN NEW ZEALAND
1972-2005**

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ABSTRACT

The 1980s and 1990s was a period in which dramatic changes occurred in New Zealand's political landscape. These changes affected many aspects of the way democracy in New Zealand was understood and operated. In the 10 years from 1984-1994, New Zealand moved from being a highly protected reasonably insular mixed economy with significant levels of state intervention in most areas of the socio-economic framework to one with permeable borders that was quickly globalising based on a market-model for both domestic and international business functions. This was accompanied by a change in the electoral system from a simple majoritarian plurality first-past-the-post system to a mixed member proportional representation system that led to the breakdown of single-party government as it gave way to coalition politics.

The causes of this latter shift related to a feeling that the previous system was both unfair and gave too much power to a few individuals in one party who seemed to have limited accountability. It was the belief of a substantial portion of the electorate that successive governments had breached the people's trust by ignoring unwritten conventions around implementing an electoral mandate based on campaign manifesto promises.

This thesis seeks for the first time to answer how real these perceptions were by assessing pledge fulfilment before 1984, during the 1984 to 1996 period, and after the advent of MMP, in order to reveal any changes that have occurred across this critical period in New Zealand's political history in relation to the application of the mandate theory of democratic government. It will also provide insight for the first time into the impact changing an electoral system has on election policy implementation for major parties and raises important questions about popular ideas of democracy, electoral support for election promise-keeping and methods of accountability as traditional notions of democracy are challenged by the revealed reality of both government action and voter reaction.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

5LG	Fifth Labour Government
ACC	Accident Compensation Corporation
AJHR	Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives
ANZCERT	Australia/New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and the United States Alliance
ARC	Agricultural Review Committee
ARP	Adult Retraining Programme
ASC	Abortion Supervisory Committee
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASPAC	Asia Pacific Network of Science & Technology
AU	Australia
BCNZ	Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand
BNZ	Bank of New Zealand
CA	Canada or Coalition Agreement
CCMAU	Crown Company Monitoring Advisory Unit
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CER	Australia/New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement
CFF	Commission for the Future
CHE	Crown Health Enterprise
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
COGS	Community Organisation Grants Scheme
CPB	Central Planning Bureau
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CRI	Crown Research Institute
DFC	Development Finance Corporation
DHB	District Health Board
DIA	Department of Internal Affairs
DOC	Department of Conservation
DOE	Department of Education
DSIR	Department of Scientific & Industrial Research
ECA	Employment Contracts Act
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EEC	European Economic Community
EECA	Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority
EGB	Electricity Governance Board
EIR	Environmental Impact Report
ERA	Employment Relations Act
EU	European Union
FLG	Fourth Labour Government
FNG	Fourth National Government
FoMA	Federation of Maori Authorities
FPP	First Past the Post Electoral System
FR	France
FRI	Forest Research Institute
FTE	Full-time Equivalent
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEP	General Election Policy
GM	Genetic Modification
GNP	Gross National Product
GP	General Practitioner
GPS	Government Policy Statement
GR	Greece
GRI	Guaranteed Retirement Income
HWT	He Waka Tapu
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDB	Industrial Development Board
IDC	Industries Development Commission
IEA	International Energy Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Independent Practitioner Association
IR	Ireland
IRD	Inland Revenue Department
KP	Key Policies
LEAF	Local Economic Assistance Fund
LFTB	Liquid Fuels Trust Board
LG	Labour Government
LPG	Liquid Petroleum Gas
MAC	Ministry of Arts and Culture
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MCA	Ministry of Consumer Affairs
MEF	Maori Education Foundation
MERT	Ministry of External Relations and Trade
MMP	Mixed-Member Proportional Electoral System
MRG	Manifesto Research Group
MRI	Major Regional Initiative
MWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs
NAFTA	New Zealand and Australia Free Trade Agreement
NBR	National Business Review
NE	The Netherlands
NETS	Non-Enrolment Truancy Service
NG	National Government
NHA	National Housing Authority
NRAC	National Research Advisory Council
NTA	New Zealand National Travel Association
NZ	New Zealand
NZCC	New Zealand Conservation Corps
NZERDC	New Zealand Energy Research Development Committee
NZF	New Zealand First
NZFPP	New Zealand under the First Past the Post Electoral System
NZFSA	New Zealand Food Safety Authority
NZG	New Zealand Gazette
NZLP	New Zealand Labour Party
NZMC	New Zealand Music Commission
NZMMP	New Zealand under the Mixed-Member Proportional Electoral System
NZNP	New Zealand National Party
NZNPP	New Zealand National Party Policy

NZPB	New Zealand Parliamentary Bills Passed and Lapsed
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
NZPDQS	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates Question Supplement
NZPP	New Zealand Parliamentary Papers
NZRU	New Zealand Rugby Union
NZS	New Zealand Statutes
NZSR	New Zealand Statutory Regulations
NZTD	New Zealand Tourist Department
NZTS	New Zealand Transport Strategy
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPF	Operational Policy Framework
OSH	Occupational Safety and Health
OSL	Occupational Shortages List
PACDAC	Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control
PAFT	Parents as First Teachers
PBRF	Performance-Based Research Fund
PD	Parliamentary Debates or Policy Document
PDNZLP	Policy Document of the New Zealand Labour Party
POL	Priority Occupations List
POSB	Post Office Savings Bank
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PR	Proportional Representation
PvdA	Partij van der Arbeid (Dutch Labour Party)
R&D	Research and Development
RBFC	Rural Banking and Finance Corporation
RBNZ	Reserve Bank of New Zealand
RCSS	Royal Commission on Social Security
RDC	Regional Development Council
REAP	Rural Education Activity Programme
RHA	Regional Health Authority
RMA	Resource Management Act
RNZ	Radio New Zealand
RNZAF	Royal New Zealand Air Force
RNZIR	Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment
RPP	Regional Partnerships Programme
RS	Reprinted Statutes of New Zealand
RSNZ	Reprinted Statutes of New Zealand or Royal Society of New Zealand
SAC	State Advances Corporation
SBA	Small Business Agency
SFC	Sixth Form Certificate
SME	Small/Medium Enterprise
SMP	Supplementary Minimum Price
SNZ	Statistics New Zealand
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
SOWS	Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary
SR	Statutory Regulations
STEPS	School-leaver Training and Employment Preparation Scheme
SW	Sweden
SWIFTT	Social Welfare Information for Tomorrow Today
TAC	Transport Advisory Council

TADCO	Tourist Accommodation Development Scheme
TIYF	This Is Your Future
TNG	Third National Government
TPFP	The Plan for Progress
TUEA	Trade Union Education Authority
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UE	University Entrance
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
US	United States of America
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (Dutch Liberal Party)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WINZ	Work and Income New Zealand
YPTP	Young Persons Training Programme

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 *SETTING THE STUDY*

Significant changes in the amount of election policy implementation in New Zealand have been alleged anecdotally to have occurred since major restructuring of New Zealand's economy began to take place in the mid-1980s. The popular sentiment seemed to be that by the 1990s, it was not possible to trust the promises made by political parties in the lead-up to General Elections. It therefore fits that there was a corresponding decline in voter turnout at elections from a high of almost 94% in 1984 to a low of around 77% in 2002 (Electoral Commission 2002, pp.170-3). In 1993, New Zealand voted favourably by referendum to change its electoral system from the majoritarian first-past-the-post (FPP) system to the mixed member proportional (MMP) system in the hope that, by comparison with FPP, MMP would provide for a greater degree of electoral accountability as public confidence in Parliament had slumped from 33% in 1975 to 4% in 1992 (James & McRobie 1993, p.124).

Coincident to these changes in electoral confidence in New Zealand, other countries were facing similar declines in public trust of politicians. However, in most cases this did not lead to a replacement of the electoral system in those states. There were also other changes made to New Zealand's electoral system at this time such as the institution of a formula for determining the number of Maori seats in Parliament based on the number of registered electors rather than retaining the standard four seats that had existed irrespective of the size of the Maori electorates (*ibid.* p.131). Fewer than five seats had ever gone to parties other than Labour or National in any given election since WWII until the advent of MMP. Overall, eleven seats had been held by parties other than Labour or National between the end of WWII and the first MMP election in 1996 despite other parties getting more than 20% of the vote share on occasion (Electoral Commission 2000, pp.153-4; James & McRobie 1993, pp.123-4). With an increasing feeling of betrayal based on the reform process and the realisation that protest votes for smaller alternative parties would not result in fair parliamentary representation, the electorate demanded change and in 1996, it was delivered in the form of the first MMP election. After four elections under MMP, there are now eight

different political parties with seats in New Zealand's House of Representatives, but it has not been clear whether this has delivered the increased level of democratic accountability hoped for. This study reveals the extent to which this has been the case. It presents an assessment of 33 years of government and in the final analysis are some thought-provoking anomalies amongst the results that make the New Zealand case unique. Therefore, the significance of the findings outlined in this thesis should not be underestimated as they are not only very real, they offer a key to better understanding the most important principle in our political system – democracy.

1.1.1 Historical Analyses of Policy Implementation in New Zealand

The idea of implementing programme commitments is not new in New Zealand (Mulgan 1978, p.88). Commentators on this topic have been historians, political scientists, media analysts and political parties and they have all referred to the central idea of policy implementation at least from the early years of the twentieth century. However, there has not, until now, been a systematic analysis linking election manifesto promises to fulfilment in a form that traces the pledges themselves to evidence of fulfilment. The first references to a New Zealand government's moving to implement election programmes came from the Liberal Government of the turn of the century who made ambitious pledges and faithfully carried them out in a way that was previously unheard of, but that was the reason the Liberals held power for twenty years (Lipson 1948, p.201). Then in 1911, the minority Reform Party government moved quickly to implement its programme by providing the opportunity for farmers to cheaply freehold their land, opening up further Maori land for settlement and introducing the Public Service Act which established a politically neutral public service (Gibbons 2000, pp.47-8). Labour and National have traditionally both taken the doctrine of the mandate seriously. It has been used by government parties to justify action and equally so by oppositions to condemn inaction. It was commonplace for party leaders to have signed copies of the manifesto that they would use as guidebooks during cabinet meeting discussions and the importance placed on this idea meant that on occasion debates in Parliament would focus more on whether a proposal was clearly specified in a parties' election programme than whether it was a good idea or not (Mulgan 1978, pp.89-90). In 1951, National called an early election on the basis that it required a mandate from the people in response to taking decisive

action on a waterfront dispute that they had not previously presented election policy on (Gibbons 2000, pp.48-9). Notwithstanding this strong support for election pledge fulfilment, there has been no comprehensive assessment of the extent to which this has occurred.

In the early 1970s, during the only term of the Third Labour Government, three qualitative assessments of the then current governments performance were produced. The first was entitled 'Labour Achieves – Manifesto in Action' and was produced internally by and for the Labour Party in May 1974 as a means of highlighting the fulfilment of Labour's 1972 Manifesto promises. It was set out much the same as the manifesto with similar headings and a report on progress in achieving the mandated commitments. The second was a similar document produced the following year for wider distribution entitled 'Labour Leads – Policies at Work'. While these were partisan publications, they were quite thorough and the level of detail with supporting evidence made them reasonably reliable. A more general appraisal of selected policy areas from more objective sources was published weeks before the 1975 election. Edited by Ray Goldstein and Rod Alley, it was a qualitative assessment of the performance of the Third Labour Government, largely by academics, but it did not cover all policy areas or link fulfilment to many of the specific promises. Entitled 'Labour in Power – Promise and Performance', it was a helpful tool for assessing the overall success of the Third Labour Government in implementing its policy programme. Since then, nothing quite the same has been published, although there have been a number of commentaries written on various terms of government (mostly Labour Governments) such as Boston and Holland's 'The Fourth Labour Government', but these focus more on the legacy of certain governments rather than emphasising what that legacy might mean in relation to manifesto commitments (1987; Holland & Boston 1990; Easton 1999).

The 1970s saw the development of a new method for analysing election programmes that has come to be known as the saliency approach. While it did not link election promises directly with evidence of fulfilment, it weighted policy areas in manifestos based on general emphases and then looked at what this indicated in relation to party competition. In the 1970s this method was applied in the UK and US and then in 1987, given that Australia and New Zealand are frequently associated with an Anglo-Saxon political culture, or treated as examples of the export of the 'Westminster Model', the technique and approach were applied here as a natural extension (Robertson, p.39). The focus of Robertson's work was to look at party

competition and determine whether Labour and National policy really resembled the left and right images they portrayed. He found that from 1946-81, there was a clear difference on the policy dimension between Labour and National with Labour consistently presenting left-leaning policy and National right-leaning, but that this was nominally converging. Robertson (1987, p.69) stated:

“New Zealand is perhaps most notable for the absence of much movement on the main dimension by either party, especially if one discounts the once and for all shift away from left-wing economic policies by New Zealand Labour after the immediate post-war period. It is generally accepted that party competition in New Zealand has been remarkably *immobiliste*. The two parties are, indeed, some distance apart, and largely static. It appears that what convergence has been attempted by the right is almost entirely on the second dimension, one that in many ways reflects the ‘New Issues’, the ‘soft’ leftness of the whole democratic world in the sixties, and which has been abandoned almost everywhere else as well as by New Zealand Labour.”

It is important to differentiate between this work on manifesto emphases and an analysis of fulfilment. However, the subtle movement of Labour identified by Robertson towards internationalism may have indicated a shift in policy that would in the 1980s lead to the subsequent dismantling of New Zealand’s isolationist protection by the Fourth Labour Government. Later work would build on Robertson’s and update and expand its application to policy implementation.

In 2000, Matthew Gibbons’ PhD research compared the manifesto emphases coded through application of the saliency method to public expenditure, thus creating an indication as to whether parties moved policy in the direction their manifestos intimated when in office. The results indicated that between 1946 and 1994 New Zealand political parties’ manifesto emphases were strongly correlated with government expenditure trends in most main expenditure areas. In only one of the eleven democracies in which this method has been used, and Gibbons compared New Zealand to, has a higher proportion of variation been explained (Gibbons 2000, p.298). However, this did not account for the perception of the electorate that promise-keeping had declined since 1984, the four terms of government that had been completed since 1994, the impact of MMP nor was it specific about which policies

were kept and which were broken. These dimensions to the question of policy implementation in New Zealand form the basis for this thesis.

1.1.2 Stages of Policy Implementation

Drawing on Downs, Kalogeropoulou (1993, 32-5) identified three stages in the relationship between the party manifesto and party competition. She firstly claimed that parties make laborious efforts to translate the results of party conferences and meetings into documents that reflect the parties' policy goals. This could be referred to as the policy formation stage. These are then presented to the electorate who vote on them based on their policy preferences. This is the policy presentation stage. Finally, the party has the opportunity when in government to implement these policies and this results in a response from the electorate. We could call this the policy performance phase.

1.1.2.1 Policy Formation

Traditionally, there have been differences in the policy formation process between Labour and National. Labour had historically used its annual conference as a venue for debating policy with policy proposals (remits) being thrashed out and voted upon. These then became party policy and found their way into the election manifesto. This created an important role for the extra-parliamentary party in the policy formation process. The snap election in 1984 seemed to be a turning point in this balance, however, as the party had to go into the election without having the opportunity to follow this process in relation to their economic policy. This meant that Roger Douglas' (Minister of Finance) proposals became *de facto* policy, causing major friction between cabinet, caucus and the extra-parliamentary party. These events seemed to have had a lasting impact. The result was that annual conferences became more like support rallies than policy formation facilities. The exigencies of MMP have further diluted the policy formation role of party conferences. On the other hand, National has long used its conferences as policy sounding boards only with policy being formed largely by their parliamentary caucus. More recently, there have been moves to involve extra-parliamentary wings of the National Party in policy-making,

but the final decision still lies with National's Board of Directors, a group of nine appointed party executives (Mulgan 2004, pp.260-3).

1.1.2.2 Policy Presentation

Once policy is decided on, it is then presented to the electorate as part of an election campaign in the form of an election manifesto or policy document. In New Zealand, election programmes have featured prominently in parties' election campaigning having been issued by the main New Zealand political parties since the 1905 election (Gibbons 2003, pp.ii&1). The size of these have changed considerably over time from small leaflets before the 1930s to large voluminous books with print runs in excess of 500,000 copies into the 1980s down to 15-20 page glossy brochure-style booklets from the 1990s (Robertson 1987, p.47; Gibbons 2003, p.4). Figure 1.1 gives an indication of the change in size that has occurred from 1972-2002 with the number of pages of each of the winning parties manifestos being represented. While this illustrates some degree of fluctuation, the overall trend is towards a decrease in size. Parties have switched to shorter programmes that can be easily distributed to voters and are more likely to be believed by the electorate. Since the 1996 election, parties have also begun to put their policies on their web pages (ibid). For Labour, since 1999, this has meant publishing a 'Key Policies' document containing all of the most salient commitments with fuller details contained on the party website. Conversely, in the new century National have moved away from hard copy manifestos completely, opting to provide policy details on their website only.

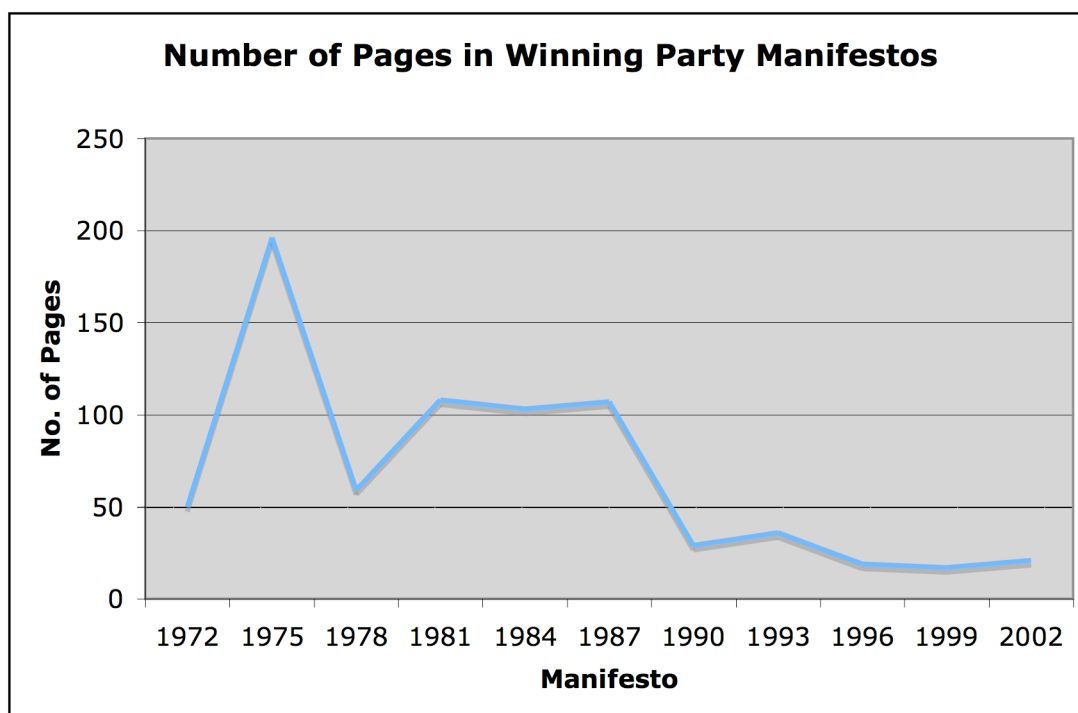


Figure 1.1: Change in Number of Pages in Manifestos of Major Governing Parties

1.1.2.3 Policy Performance

These policies, once presented to the electorate, are designed to aid the voter in selecting the party they feel most closely represents their wishes for the governance of the country. This results in one party getting most seats in parliament and forming the government. It is then considered the responsibility of the governing party to set about implementing the policies presented before the election over the subsequent term of government. In other words, campaign promises should not just be empty words. They should say something interesting about future politics (Naurin 2007, p.4). Research from around the world now confirms that there is a relationship between that which parties commit to do in election campaigns and the policy performance of those parties when in government (see examples in Chapter 2.2). This would suggest that the mandate model of party democracy is in fact working well in many developed democratic states with a variety of electoral systems.

Ironically, in some cases, the results of empirical research have been met with derision and disbelief. For example, Naurin claims that when her results illustrated that the government had kept most of its pledges from their election manifesto, people were ‘mad at her’ and claimed that she was ‘performing poor research and running the government’s errands’ (ibid). This suggests that the popular belief that the system

(promise – elect – perform) is flawed is so prevalent that any challenge to it seems implausible. But in New Zealand, according to Gibbons, support for the convention that parties keep their pre-election promises has usually been very strong. Since there have been very few institutional constraints on New Zealand governments, the convention of the electoral mandate has been a very important constraint on them. It is thought that policy implementation rates by New Zealand governments have traditionally been high, with deviations from pre-election promises usually being harshly punished by voters. Although this convention was broken by the 1984-1990 Fourth Labour Government and by the subsequent National Government between 1990-1993, since then both parties have recommitted themselves to keeping their promises. Many of the new parties formed during the 1990s have also strongly committed themselves to keeping their promises (Gibbons 2003, pp.1-2). This ability to perform honourably in implementing election policies is now complicated by the realities of coalition government since 1996.

1.2 AIMS OF THE THESIS

Although information on New Zealand has been quoted above, it has depended on either data that has been collected selectively and inconsistently and presented often with a high degree of subjectivity using anecdotal evidence or broad sweep methods that capture general trends in the relationship between manifesto emphases and policy movement. The undertaking of this research, commenced in 1999, seeks to link actual election promises with clear evidence of their fulfilment or lack thereof for the period 1972-2005 in a consistent representative manner for the first time in New Zealand. As a corollary to this, it will present new information about the nature of election manifestos and how they have changed over this period. It will also make a significant contribution to the body of knowledge both nationally and internationally relative to the impact of incumbency and changes in electoral system on pledge fulfilment. Perhaps most importantly, it will test one of the most established principles of democratic theory, that voters reward pledge fulfilment with continued support, by providing evidence from the New Zealand electorate to compare levels of pledge fulfilment with subsequent election vote share as a means of establishing or debunking this idea. Specifically, this thesis will seek to answer the following ten research questions:

1. Have the number of promises made in manifestos of major parties entering government been consistent over time?
2. Do the number of promises made vary significantly by party, time and system?
3. Are main government parties more likely than not to keep their election promises?
4. Are policy implementation rates significantly higher for one party than another?
5. Are policy implementation rates highest before 1984 and higher under FPP than MMP?
6. Do parties make more or less of their manifesto promises on the traditionally high-profile important socio-economic issues of health, housing, education, welfare and the economy?
7. Do parties specialise in certain policy areas thus making more promises in these areas than in others?
8. Are parties more likely to keep promises, the longer they are in government?
9. Is there a relationship between policy implementation and electoral support?
10. Does the orientation on the left-right policy dimension of a minor coalition partner in relation to a major coalition partner affect their ability to fulfil promises?

1.3 HYPOTHESES

Within the ten research questions, this thesis will present four main hypotheses. The findings concluded by the research conducted as part of this study will provide evidence in support of or that detracts from the efficacy of these hypotheses. The results will thereby confirm the validity of each hypothesis or render it invalid.

1.3.1 Hypothesis One

If the number of commitments in a manifesto is lower, then the proportion of the manifesto devoted to socio-economic issues will be higher.

This hypothesis postulates that as manifestos decrease in size, the emphasis on core issues such as socio-economic policy becomes more prevalent. This relates to the idea that the greater the number of pledges contained in a manifesto, the more freedom a party has to present policy on peripheral areas or policy with a more sectoral interest that appeals to smaller groups within the electorate. This means that manifestos containing fewer pledges must focus policy on areas that are likely to appeal to a broad cross-section of the electorate with some direct level of impact on most voters.

1.3.2 Hypothesis Two

If a party returns to office for a second or third term as an incumbent, then it will achieve a higher level of pledge fulfilment in each successive term than it did in its previous term.

It is anticipated that incumbency positively relates to pledge fulfilment. There is expected to be a positive relationship between the length of time a party is in government and its ability to implement its election commitments. It is envisaged that the major determinants of this will be control over the tools of implementation and the amount of time it takes to overcome bureaucratic inertia to implement changes in established policy direction. The extent to which this is the case will be tested by comparing levels of election promise-keeping to the number of terms a party is in a particular government.

1.3.3 Hypothesis Three

If a party forms the government under FPP, then it will fulfil a greater proportion of its election planks than if it forms part of the government under MMP.

The past 14 years have seen coalition governments as the mainstay in the New Zealand Parliament, 12 of these years under MMP. With manoeuvring ahead of the advent of MMP and the new electoral system taking effect, both of the major parties (Labour and National) have needed support from others in the house in order to

secure confidence and supply and function as a responsible government since a year after the last FPP election in 1993. However, while MMP was adopted to increase the accountability of the government to the electorate, it is possible that it has in fact decreased the level of accountability relative to the electoral mandate. This hypothesis seeks to test whether a higher percentage of election planks have been fulfilled before or after the advent of MMP and coalition government.

1.3.4 Hypothesis Four

If a party in government fulfils a greater proportion of election promises than it did in its previous term of government, then it will increase its share of the vote at the subsequent election.

As a consequence of high levels of election promise-keeping, it is anticipated that parties will be rewarded by the electorate with a greater degree of support at the next election. The research conducted on election promise-keeping in other countries largely accepts this relationship as given. A reason for this is that the notion of electoral accountability based on political office-seeking behaviour revolves around the theory that voters reward parties for keeping promises and punish them for breaking them, thus keeping parties 'honest'. This thesis will seek to establish the extent to which high levels of promise-keeping does result in corresponding electoral support.

1.4 THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into ten chapters, the first consisting of the present one, which sets the parameters of this research on policy implementation in New Zealand. This is done by defining the questions under investigation and stating the aims of the thesis and the specific hypotheses that will be researched. Chapter Two reviews the literature already written on the subject of policy implementation from around the world and specifically focuses on analyses of pledge fulfilment that have already been conducted in other countries. It also locates the present study amongst the body of research in this area theoretically and empirically by situating this study in its unique niche in a larger policy implementation research framework. Chapter Three explains

the methodology used in this work to identify election pledges and assess their fulfilment. It outlines the analytical framework from which the pledges are identified, the method by which the representative sample is selected and how fulfilment is determined.

Chapters Four to Eight present the empirical results and constitute the substantive presentation of pledges assessed and the determination of their fulfilment with selected evidence to support these findings. Each government assessed has a chapter devoted to it with some background and analysis of the results presented and an explanation of the overall findings for that government. In association with this, each chapter is divided into sections representing each of that government's terms in office with corresponding information on manifesto and fulfilment data.

Chapter Nine draws on the five substantive chapters and brings the results of the empirical investigation from each government into synthesis and presents the major findings of the research by comparing all of the governments assessed in order to establish the veracity of the hypotheses. The findings related to the ten main questions the study has addressed (incorporating the four hypotheses) are illustrated through figures and tables as well as some discussion of the unique contribution they make to our understanding of the operation of the democratic mandate in New Zealand. The four hypotheses are considered to be the central themes of the current research as they address the overriding theoretical issues. That is to say, that there are core policy areas which become a focus when less is said, that parties become more effective at fulfilling policy the longer they are in government, that single-party government is a more effective way of transmitting popular policy preferences for the major parties and that voters reward responsible governance based on the electoral mandate. The ten questions supplement these. Finally, Chapter Ten reiterates the major findings and salient theoretical and conceptual issues into concluding remarks. More particularly, it will seek to explain the relationship between the current state of policy implementation and the New Zealand politic. In addition to this, it will provide an interpretation of the results obtained and isolate further research possibilities. This will accompany a justification of the present study by listing the policy implications of this kind of research for New Zealand. Finally, it will remark on the level of support the data provides for the hypotheses that are introduced by the thesis.

1.5 SUMMARY

- Significant changes in the amount of election policy implementation in New Zealand have been alleged anecdotally since major restructuring of New Zealand's economy began to take place in the mid-1980s. But until now, this has never been empirically tested.
- The idea of implementing programme commitments is not new in New Zealand, and the country has a long history of reference to ideas of mandated responsibility dating back over a hundred years.
- The three stages in the relationship between the party manifesto and party competition for electoral support are policy formation, policy presentation and policy performance.
- Information on policy implementation in New Zealand has previously depended either on data that has been collected selectively and inconsistently and often presented with a high degree of subjectivity using anecdotal evidence or broadsweep methods that capture general trends in the relationship between manifesto emphases and policy movement. This thesis will provide an empirical approach to determine pledge fulfilment using a consistent representative sampling system linking pledges to evidence of fulfilment.
- The thesis identifies ten research questions within which are four main hypotheses.
- It contains ten chapters, including an introduction, literature review, methodology, five substantive analytical chapters devoted to eleven terms of government, a presentation of results and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 *DEMOCRATIC THEORY, THE MANDATE AND PARTY COMPETITION*

In the late 17th century, ‘representative democracy’ was the name Locke gave to a double-staged process whereby citizens, in an election, transfer legislative power to some of their body who in turn determine laws by a majority vote of the whole (Tannenbaum and Schultz 1998, p.177). A century later, the debate had moved on and began focussing attention on the responsibility of these legislators to their voter base. This came to a head in the late 1700s in the British electorate of Bristol where a particularly prominent candidate, who subsequently lost the election, made this statement which would have implications for the way Westminster democracy was to function and be interpreted for years to come;

“But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience – these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our Constitution” (Burke 1774).

Burke was prepared to sacrifice his seat in order to make a point on this principle.

While the electorate disagreed with Edmund Burke, thereby establishing the opposite precedent, such was his opinion on the question of whether popular representatives were to be seen as delegates or trustees. That is, whether they are required to vote strictly according to the wishes of their constituents, or based on their own best judgment and the good of the country. In the eighteenth century, political party discipline tended to be subservient to electorate interests as the practicum around protective democracy began to emerge in earnest and reflect a situation in which sovereignty ultimately lay in the people, but was vested in representatives elected to legitimately exercise state functions (Held 1996, p.99). Modern democracy, however, cannot be separated from the role of political parties. Not only is there

substantial academic literature pointing to their essential role in identifying previously unknown candidates with a distinct programme and record (Greenstein, 1970; Fiorina, 1981; Budge and Farlie, 1977 & 1983), but there is an empirical relationship between the existence of parties competing in free elections and democracy. Paraphrasing Michels, we might assert that nowadays ‘who says democracy means party’ (1962; see also Kalogeropoulou 1993, p.3). Indeed, Westminster politics relies on the party structure.

This makes good sense because parties not only structure elections for voters but also form the concrete embodiment of the election results through elected representatives in parliament and government. They are a unique and essential intermediary between elections and government, transmitting at least some policy choices expressed in the election into legislative and administrative action. It was therefore no accident that the first step in democratisation for most countries (this was clearly seen in Eastern Europe), was not the holding of elections; it was the development of political parties. This follows a pattern long established by mature democratic states.

Whether it be liberal democratic or derived from any other tradition, however, the precise relation of political theory to political practice remains a cause for perplexity to political scientists (Vowles 1987, p.215). While the merits of various forms of democratic systems have long been the subject of concern and debate between political scientists (Lijphart, 1994), the central role and importance of political parties within them in transmitting popular preferences into official actions has perhaps been most comprehensively and systematically stated by Anthony Downs, in his influential book *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957). While aspects of this representation have been extensively criticised (Barry, 1970; Robertson, 1976; Budge and Farlie, 1977; Bartolini and Mair, 1990; Monroe, 1991; Grofman, 1993; Budge, 1999), it still gives a concise and graphic analysis of certain fundamental mechanics in the democratic process forming a good basis for moving forward to the theory of the party mandate itself. It also provides testable propositions relative to the idea of mandate-based delegatory democracy. For these reasons, Downs will be used as a basis for much of the underlying assumptions upon which this thesis is built, thus justifying some attention to his work here.

The basic elements of Downs’ model concern themselves with two sets of actors: A) parties; B) electors. Parties are conceived to be internally unified and thus,

effectively, each party behaves as an individual actor.¹ Each party can therefore be depicted by a single place in a policy space, representing its particular package of policies put forward to an electorate. Electors can also be located at a particular point in the space, based upon their policy preferences in relation to the packages presented by the parties. On the traditional left-right dimension spatial representation, electors are presumed to support the party which takes its position closest to them and therefore, the pledge package that comes closest to their own preferences. The accuracy of these political party positions as found from manifesto data, have usually been seen by scholars to be very convincing (Hofferbert and Blinn 1992, p.15) and the reliance of the electorate on them is a practical example of the application of the rational choice/action theory of democracy.

Although a spatial representation is not essential to Downs' basic argument, this does give the best direct presentation of his ideas. Two cases are presented in his book: one for the two party system associated with a unimodal distribution of voters over the various preferences available (over a left-right continuum) and then for the multi-party system associated with a multimodal distribution of electors over the continuum. In order for principles of rationality to work in the second case, though, coalitions need to be prefigured.

The distribution of electoral preferences is assumed to influence both the behaviour and number of parties. In the first case parties build up potential popular majorities by moving to the middle of the distribution. Only two parties ultimately exist because no other party could get between them and the centre of the preference space (where it is essential to position oneself to get a majority). New Zealand exemplified this case before PR where there were two large parties in almost complete control of the party system (Lijphart 1984, p.17). However, studies centred closely around Downsian principles rely on the unrealistic assumption according to Patrick Dunleavy, that the distribution of society's preferences and the political middle-ground remain fixed over time (1991, p.106). In reality though, parties on both sides of the continuum have ideologically crossed occasionally in several countries' elections on this dimension (more frequently in Sri Lanka as noted by Bara 1987, p.107 and in Italy according to Mastropaolo and Slater 1992, pp.319-321). This has not happened in New Zealand (Budge 1994, p.460), although parties have

¹ While much attention has been given to party factions, empirical reviews conclude that most political parties most of the time, especially during elections and processes of government formation; do act in unity, so the assumption is not unrealistic. (Budge and Keman, 1990; pp.24, 34, 39-40; Laver and Schofield, 1990, p.160ff).

sometimes overlapped (Bowler 1990, pp.76-78). Movement by parties along the left-right dimension between elections has occurred, but it appears to have resulted more from chance than deliberate decision-making on the part of the political parties (Burt 1997, p.653). They have tended to move together alongside more macro shifts which relate to changes in societal norms.

With reference to Downs' multi-party second case, where many parties exist because they each 'sit' on an electoral mode, parties can still gain a considerable number of votes, even if not a majority. In this situation, it is practically impossible to get an overall majority, because one party cannot displace another from its mode. This situation leads to policy immobility, multi-party governments and – according to Downs – less effective transmission of voter preferences than in the first case where single party majority governments dominate. However, potentially, in proportional systems where this occurs, in the end the pledge preferences of more of the electorate are ultimately represented because it is possible for governments to be elected in two-party systems with a majority of seats in the legislature, but without a majority of the ballots cast.

It is these concerns associated with policy transmission and implementation that bring *An Economic Theory of Democracy* around to the concerns of this thesis. In this model, each party is assumed to be a selfish office-seeker with no personal concern at all with election pledges. Their personal objectives are realised simply by being elected. One original and powerful aspect of Downs' argument is to show, even with such cynical material, how self-interest pushes the parties into actually fulfilling their election promises once elected. While such a situation seems incongruous, Downs explains that it is in fact logical and reasonable to expect this.

The reason for this relates to the fact that in order to ensure success in future elections, parties must build up reputations of reliability with the electors. It is after all no use voting for political representatives closest to your own preferences if they do not carry out their programme in government. Better, in that case, to vote for a party which may not reflect personal policy preferences as closely, but is more reliable and which will do something about what the electorate wants. New Zealand's 1960 election campaign was fought over this idea and what Holyoake claimed were the broken commitments 'Labour would like to forget' (Gustafson 1986, p.84). The accuracy of such an assumption is another matter, but it does seem evident that there is an expectation of electorate wisdom after three years of assessment.

Downs therefore asserted that parties have a strong self-interest in fulfilling their declared policies once they are elected, even if they are very self-interested and office-seeking. One might therefore expect parties with stronger policy interests to fulfil even more of their pledges, having in addition to their general desire to retain office, a strong institutional motivation to see particular government policies fulfilled (Laver and Hunt, 1992) which is further reflected in the individual attitudes of party members. Perhaps this is why in coalition situations where ministerial portfolios become divided between representatives of different parties, ministers are said to seem compelled and justified to interfere with their cabinet colleagues' areas of responsibility (Andeweg and Bakema 1994, p.63). In New Zealand, this idea has been characterised by such influential party leaders as Robert Muldoon who had as a main objective to fulfil election promises (Boon 1994, p.23). Such responsiveness to the wishes of the electorate was also shown by Geoffrey Palmer who remained certain of the need for an entrenched Bill of Rights, but sponsored a more modest standard-Act option due to a lack of public support for a major constitutional change (Arseneau 1990, p.30). There is a wealth of anecdotal material related to this kind of contemporary political integrity (see for example Kersell, 1999; Saunders, 1999), some of which focuses on promise-making, keeping and breaking (Fleishman et al., 1981). Some general assessments of how various governments have dealt with the issue of following through on promises are situation specific and predominantly American (Jones, 1988; Mayer, 1989) with some Australian (Stevens and Wanna, 1993) and British material (Ponting, 1989). What these sources indicate, while not specifically testing policy implementation in ways that will be discussed later, is how Downs' idea of election policy fulfilment as a political goal is also popularly expected.

Downs' theory is effectively an explication of the reasons why the classic democratic mandate theory should work in practice. Mandate theory was most clearly enunciated by the inter-War, 1950s and 1960s post-War commentators on liberal democracy (Friedrich, 1963; Schattschneider, 1965; APSA, 1950) and despite the changing nature of electoral behaviour and political organisations, the mandate theory is of enduring relevance to more recent assessments of democracy (e.g. Dahl, 1991; Budge et al., 1997). The basic concept of popular government is essentially powered by a process in which parties compete for votes using their programmes (their policy positions in Downs' first case); voters select the party whose policy package they prefer; one of the parties gains a majority in a dual party system. It then forms a

government and proceeds to implement election programme pledges. In the case of multi-party systems (in the second Downsian case) where no one gains a majority, the parties in government will try to effect their own pledges as much as possible. In many countries, the formulation of the coalition agreement provides parties with an opportunity to obtain a commitment from the newly elected government to enact these proposed policies (Browne and Dreijmanis 1982, pp.349-50). Forming this agreement may take some time, as did the 1996 National-NZFirst agreement, but it is wrong to assume that because these negotiations take a long time, much is being negotiated (Luebbert 1986, p.52). In addition, Laver suggests that where parties can persuade voters that if elected they will form specific coalitions with other parties, there can be strong electoral payoffs (1992, p.47). Most parties in New Zealand have failed to realise this in the first decade of MMP.

Under such conditions, the notion of the mandate may seem a rather dilute or abstract concept which may be why scientific analysts of it have described it as being fraught with problems (Jackson 1973, p.50), but it has long been part of the accepted political norm in Angleterre d'outre mer. In New Zealand, half a century ago for example, there was established, as an adjunct to the theory of the mandate, a conception that the basis for judging the confidence that could be placed in a government at an election rested largely on its individual pledges which it managed to fulfil (Harper 1955, p.119). Indeed, it became an established ideal that save in emergency, the power to legislate should be used only in accordance with the government party's election manifesto (Scott 1962, p.51). It has been noted, however, that a government which uses its election to signify the electorate's endorsement of at least some of the policies which it campaigned for – or an opposition which insists that the government must legislate for those policies and (in some versions) only those policies on which it stood – appeals not to a general mandate but to a *specific* mandate (Goot 1999, p.330). Central to the meaning of this specific mandate then, appears to be the right of governing parties to enact their electoral policy or manifesto as a result of the parliamentary majority they achieved at the polls (Mulgan 1978, pp.88-9) or in other words, a delegate's licence to carry out certain promises (Mulgan 2000, p.318). This idea of the mandate or the Responsible Party Model was conceptualised by Ranney (1954) and relies on voters evaluating whether the parties have done what their manifesto promised to do and thus whether or not they are trustworthy enough to be re-elected. Schmitt and Thomassen provide an example of the application of the Responsible Party model (1999). However, in reality, it can be

observed that often, polities actually depart from this idea in their everyday dealings with state affairs, thus losing their claim of a specifically democratic way to handle societal issues. On the other hand, a general mandate assumes that on winning an election, parties have been authorised to do that which they feel appropriate and this need not accord with those policies that they campaigned on (Schelder 1998, p.193). However, this thesis tests the application of the specific mandate in New Zealand. Hence, a serious question concerning today's democratic regimes is whether or not governing parties perform according to those implicit rules and expectations which the specific electoral mandate assumes and whether the level of attributable accountability delivered through the electoral system affects the electorates satisfaction with the democratic process (Anderson and Guillory, 1997). At a general level, there has been a considerable amount of work done in the United States on the relationship between the role of honesty and making democracy effective (see Dahl, 1956) and while there are streams of democratic theory that acknowledge the naivety of crediting voters with clearly defined policy preferences to which parties respond (Riker, 1982), because parties are central to the whole process, it is important to find out whether parties commit themselves to specific policies, and whether they do follow a specific electoral mandate as given to them on the basis of those election manifesto commitments, when in a position to do so. It is therefore imperative to look into which ways are used to implement them and the extent to which governments do regulate society. In other words, do governments use election policy as a plan on which to base action when in office?

Therefore, this thesis is interested in whether or not policy platforms, presented in more or less elaborate party programmes and endorsed by voters in an election, have any significant and practical effect on how the country is to be ruled. In the situation where parties fail to behave in accordance with the mandate given, this legitimating mechanism is removed from the system in such a way as to diminish the representative character of democracy until it becomes nothing but a pretence, casting votes a fruitless exercise and electioneering a waste of time and resources. In this case, there would not be any reason why other forms of non-party-based systems should not be seriously considered as a viable and perhaps more effective, solution to today's pressing problems. Indeed, single party people's republican ideals in which different individuals compete for representation in the only legal party could provide a feasible alternative to multi-party systems.

After all of these factors are taken into account, the whole theory rests upon two basic propositions in the body of a discursive literature about mandate ideas:

1. Electors choose to vote for a particular party in terms of the closeness of that party's policy proposals to their own ideals.
2. The party, or parties, with most votes then forms a government which effects the policy proposals or priorities supported by its or their electors (Hofferbert and Budge, 1992). These are the same policy proposals that were presented in the manifesto previously.

These two propositions are potentially falsifiable and can be analysed through appropriate research. They are clearly substantively central to ideas around representative democracy and are non-obvious. Erikson et al have thoroughly investigated, not only voters' views, but also the relationship between politicians' views and policy in the form of decision-making and public spending (2002). In fact, research on how representation works has put a lot of effort into analysing congruency between voters concerns and representatives (Esaiasson & Holmberg 1996). Much voting research for example would claim that most electors vote based on motives which are not obviously linked to parties' current policy stances (Campbell et al., 1964; Margolis, 1978) and that citizens do not grasp detailed political issues very well anyway, although these conclusions have been criticised on the grounds that voters' knowledge in these studies was not measured correctly (Achen, 1975). The expanding political skills and resources of modern electorates are, however, increasing the abilities of the public and lessening the need for partisan influence (Dalton 1984, p.264) and post-materialist research on voting behaviour shows that voters possess the cognitive tools necessary to comprehend policy debate, enabling them to cast their votes in an informed manner (Inglehart, 1977; Dalton, 1988) and respond to the campaign information that they receive (Lodge et al. 1995, p.321). In addition, as is often seen, there is much popular and academic cynicism about the second proposition, that parties, (or presidents in the US case) actually do what they promised to do during the campaign once elected. Such is Comiskey's analysis of Ronald Reagan's presidential term which he concluded had yielded very few of the lasting accomplishments promised, but left long-term costs of potentially staggering dimensions (1987, p.331). Likewise, Davis and Ferrantino note that pleadings for a more virtuous government are about as common as surveys showing the public to rank the credibility of politicians on roughly the same level as used vehicle salesmen and professional wrestlers (1996, p.12). The overall picture created

by the survey data, is that the image of the promise-breaking politician is pervasive in the public domain and that most variables, like social and political background have little impact on this (for examples of background variables analysed in research about trust in politicians see Klingemann & Fuchs 1995 & Norris 1999). This is probably because voters often use their own experience with the public sector when assessing politicians and political institutions (Kumlin 2004) or it is even as generally related as to be affected by levels of trust in other people (Uslaner 2002). While the reasons generating such perceptions are not the topic of this research, Elin Naurin's investigations into this phenomenon in Sweden, despite research showing responsibly functioning party government, conclude that the relationship between party promises, their fulfilment and public perceptions are both extremely complex and often generate more questions than they answer (2002, pp.14-17 & 2007, p.18). In the final assessment, though, since parties take their manifestos seriously, voters also have every reason to do so.

The object of the current research is to test the second aspect of mandate theory, the actual implementation of election promises by the parties. The material to be assessed (election manifestos, government programmes, legislative and bureaucratic documents and budgets) only gives information on the parties' government level of activity. However, this material is generally sufficient to accomplish the purposes of this research.

Given its substantive importance in the democratic debate and centrality to the crucial theory of the mandate (for how is the unique responsiveness of party government to be explained outside of this theory?), this research can be linked to a body of studies conducted around the globe. A check of the fulfilment of pledges is comparatively quite a major undertaking, even if this is done for only one country and for a limited period. Nevertheless, the unique situation presented by New Zealand and the opportunity to add a new dimension to research done in other countries justify the magnitude of the undertaking. It may have bearings elsewhere, possibly provide some quite surprising conclusions and maybe even contradict some of the findings of more general literature. Firstly, however, we must look at this literature to appreciate more fully the theoretical impulses behind it. Then, the importance of this specific research will be more closely identified.

2.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON PARTIES AND PLEDGE FULFILMENT

In order to determine the extent to which the assumed mandate operates in politics today, an investigation into party behaviour before and after a successful election is required. Research around whether or not parties do carry through election pledges involves determining the extent to which they make such commitments in the first place and then relating them to the government policy output. This methodological approach has become more widespread and popular since the early 1990s.

Researching the specific link between the party mandate as such and its policy product has been a reasonably recent development. Research in this general area actually began by comparing the influence political factors had on other possible determinants of public policy. Earlier studies focused on aggregate state expenditure, relating government expenditures to political factors, but also to the tax-base and local economy, mainly relative to the context of the US political structure (Dawson and Robinson, 1963; Cutright, 1965; Dye, 1966; Hofferbert, 1966). More specifically most of these studies used the 50 American states as a necessary controlled comparison between political influences and other factors on public policy. The general conclusion was that no political link existed, but that expenditure was mainly dependent on publicly salient issue factors such as social concerns or the economy. A question that is not answered in this research, but which has been posed by Hofferbert and Budge (1992), relates to whether parties and socio-economic factors *should* be seen as competing in the public policy sphere or whether on the other hand democratic parties' proper role is as a mediator between 'objective' circumstances and electoral and government performance. However, the research question at the beginning of the 1970s came to be formulated as 'do parties matter at all?' For the democratic credentials of western societies, it was seen as important to examine whether or not there are consistent differences in policies when parties alternate in office, an important first question when assessing mandate processes, though obviously not a final one. This could determine whether there was an effective causal link between parties and executive policy action.

Another set of policy studies which emerged in the early 1980s (Castles (ed.), 1982) concentrated their research at a nation-state level on advanced developed democracies with mixed economies. They argued that political factors should only make a difference among states at the same level of socio-economic advancement:

thus they looked for policy differences between governments of different political composition in 20 western-style developed countries. These studies used welfare (perceived as a focal policy area in those economies and a major indicator of the standard of living because government spending on it counted as a substantial part of the state budget), as a measure of political control over the economy. For example, left-wing control of the government should be linked with higher expenditure in related social fields and rightist control with expenditure on defence and justice (the traditional choice of welfare versus warfare or butter versus guns). The overall conclusion, to quote a later but methodologically similar study, was that “Socialists, whether in their own government or in coalition, stick out against welfare cuts more than any of the other parties” (Budge and Keman 1990, p.157). This has historically been the case in New Zealand, for example, with Norman Kirk’s leadership overseeing the fulfilment of most of Labour’s 1972 social welfare commitments (Gustafson 1975, p.80). Christian Democrats in government in Europe were also linked to more welfare spending, which might be explained by their ‘socially conscious’ ideology. But Castles sees economic development and industrialisation processes as the most important influences on policy outcomes (1998, pp.25-26; compare Pennings 1998, pp.399-401 who has found that economic factors are not such an important policy determinant for parties), while asserting that it remains impossible to isolate a single political factor to which the main burden of attributing welfare policy outcomes may be assigned (1985, pp.71-72). It appears that the relationship between platform commitments and policy outcomes has mainly developed independent of the distribution of public opinion, though (Monroe 1983, pp.36-37). Other research suggests that both electoral turnout and differences in parties’ ideological strengths matter for the share of national incomes spent on social welfare programmes (Hicks and Swank 1992, p.668). Whatever the case, it does appear that large partisan effects on public policy typify majoritarian democracies, in which the legislature and the executive are ‘sovereign’ (Schmidt 1996, p.155), even though emphases are affected by issue saliency changes over time. For example, European research has shown that whereas issues to do with traditional morality had prominence until the late 1950s, since the 1970s new politics issues, such as environmental conservation, have been emphasised much more by parties (van Kersbergen 1997, p.126). Similarly, from studying post-war results in Ireland, Mair found that economic development has been accompanied by an increase in

modernisation rhetoric and growing support for expanding social services (1987, p.165).

Establishing the link between manifesto commitments and policy output longitudinally and systematically is a time-consuming and labour-intensive task. Acts of Parliament, administrative decisions and public expenditure in all their forms are the basic means governing parties' ability to implement policies. Though not all policy decisions require expenditure, even policies that can be carried out mainly by legislation are centrally financed. This is done either through the state budget or other sources such as departmental cost recovery methods. Therefore, one way of establishing a governing parties' sensitivity to elector's demands is to investigate possible differences in public expenditure that may occur following a change in power. At least, this began to be something of a methodological focus in the late 1980s.

In other words, do parties ensure more is spent in some policy areas than others when in government and do these proportions change when partisan parliamentary control shifts? Further, are these differences in government spending activity pointed out in the election programmes so that voters can make rational decisions, knowing in advance which party will do what? Relating election programmes and declarations of government policies in parliament to government's legislation and administrative measures, and the varying powers assigned to ministries, (especially in the case of coalition governments) can also reveal differences in policy priorities. In fact, Budge and Laver found policy to be a very important factor in the formation of coalition governments (1992, p.428; 1993, pp.499-519; see also Baron 1991, pp.137-164). Because New Zealand has had few coalition governments prior to the advent of MMP and until the 1996 election, none had issued detailed coalition statements, this type of research is only now becoming applicable to New Zealand.

Manifestos had so far been examined only in a highly aggregated way on an isolated country by country basis, so to move research on party influence forward relative to the specific theory of the mandate, comparisons between government expenditures and the party election programmes themselves needed to be made. Such research would require a couple of steps in order to relate party programmes to national expenditures. In the first case, party programmes had to be coded and then secondly, national expenditures needed to be examined. This method has come to be referred to as 'the saliency approach to the party mandate' (Thomson 1999, p.9).

The first step in applying this approach was that party programmes needed to be systematically analysed. While manifestos had been, and continue to be, analysed for various reasons using different methods, such as identifying subtle changes in policy wording (see for instance Brown 1955, pp. 51-52), comparing their length (Brown 1962, pp.71-73), identifying which issues differentiate different types of parties (Hearl 1988, p.445), estimating the decline in importance of specific policy issues (Miller 1989, p.254), finding which issues are important at certain elections (McLeay 1994, pp.37-64), analysing specific policy areas for the purpose of evaluating performance (Blackwell and Convery, 1983) or measuring references to values and norms contained within the text of election programmes (Levine 1975, pp.118-120; Topf 1994, p.159; Laver and Garry 1998, pp.12-13; Garry 1999, p.4), no systematic, comprehensive and consistent content analysis of them had been undertaken. This was unfortunate as content analysis is a research technique designed to ensure that textual comparisons are transparent and replicable (Krippendorff 1980, p.21). However, through the work of the Manifesto Research Group (MRG) from 1979 to 1987 (Budge et al. (eds.), 1987), such an analysis was undertaken. Basically, party programmes were read systematically to produce 54 groupings of topics with such emphases as defence, or 'peaceful internationalism', on the quality of life, on various kinds of economic policy, technology or infrastructure. Researchers using this methodology found that the economic policy domain was dominant in most countries (Irvine 1987, p.78; McAllister and Moore 1991, p.5) with topics such as those related to questionable financial practices being rarely mentioned (Mair 1987, p.156). Perhaps this is why Klingemann subsequently amalgamated related categories by extracting a single main dimension, which was usually dominated by economic issues, for his factor analyses (1995, pp.187-9). Into the 54 categories were counted all the relevant sentences of each election document for each election so variations in the attention paid to each could be measured over each election (Budge et al. (eds.), 1987: Appendix B). These fell broadly into seven domains including foreign affairs, freedom and democracy, government, economy, welfare and quality of life, fabric of society and social groups (ibid. p.23).

This kind of coding, however, really measures policy *priorities* rather than substantive policies and one critic of the MRG scheme has argued that parties' positions using manifesto data are 'frequently implausible' (Kitschelt 1994, p.139). To overcome some of these problems, Budge modified the original 54 category coding frame used by the MRG in a subsequent study produced by the group (Laver

and Budge, 1992). Nevertheless, this method was justified by Budge et al on the basis of Robertson's *Theory of Party Competition* (1976) by maintaining that parties competed by varying the saliency of topics and not by directly confronting each other over the same issues. They claimed, in contrast to their critics, in their analysis of parties' ideological development over the post-War era that this assumption produced plausible results.²

By studying parties' diverse attention to certain issues over the post-War period in nineteen countries, Budge et al produced a variety of results. The countries studied in Budge et al's compendium (1987) were: Britain (Rallings and Robertson), Canada (Rallings and Irvine), Australia (Robertson), New Zealand (Robertson), United States (Robertson), Sri Lanka (Bara and Manor), Israel (Bara), Ireland (Mair), Northern Ireland (Laver and Elliott), Sweden (Holmstedt and Schou), Denmark (Holmstedt and Schou), Netherlands (Dittrich), Belgium (Hearl), Luxembourg (Hearl), Austria (Horner), West Germany (Klingemann), France (Petry), Italy (Mastropaolo and Slater) and Japan (Inoguchi). Budge's factor analytic strategy, considered a better measure of parties' positions than earlier national factor methods (Schou and Hearl 1992, p.156), was later also applied to Norway (Strom and Leipart 1989, p.263). This initial research established a foundation upon which the attention given to an issue in the manifestos and subsequent expenditures by the governing party could be analysed. To do this, spending had to be grouped into consistent categories for the post-War period (initially done for ten countries) on an annual basis and (judgementally) related to programme categories which were also annualised (Budge and Hofferbert, 1990; Hofferbert and Klingemann, 1990; Hofferbert and Budge, 1992; Klingemann et al, 1994). The main conclusions of these and other comparable studies such as those for France (Petry, 1991), Canada (Petry, 1995) and New Zealand (Gibbons, 1999 & 2000) since have been:

1. Party programmes and public expenditures do correlate, in some cases, quite strongly and this goes against some perceptions (especially for the United States) that parties do not significantly affect government action.
2. The programmes of parties in office manifest this relationship more obviously than do those for parties in opposition (though there are exceptions, see Petry, 1988), and this in accordance with mandate ideas,

² We shall come back to this point later because it contrasts with the approach adopted here of looking for specific manifesto pledges. The present research claims this to be the only truly valid method for measuring pledge fulfilment primarily because of the level of accuracy and detail involved.

which put the emphasis on the party/parties elected to government carrying through their policies, because these are the ones popularly supported.

3. While there are anomalies and the strength of the relationship varies between policy areas in different countries, (for example, Budge et al. found that in some expenditure areas such as education, factors like demographic change more directly shaped government expenditure (2002, pp.80-95)), it holds strongly enough, in general, to say that parties spend more money in those areas they emphasise in elections. Therefore, the saliency studies seem to support the mandate theory of party democracy.

While the results derived using Budge's factor analysis methodology were very influential and are frequently cited (Lane and Ersson 1991, pp.272-4), their conclusions have some limitations, for instance:

- a) They refer only to expenditures, which are very important for the executive but not their only means of action. Legislation, ministerial decrees and actions, economic and foreign policies (with legislative endorsement or often not) are clearly also a relevant and important influence on parties' left-right positions on economic policy (Carkoglu 1995, p.299). In fact, in the analysis of one such study, Kim and Fording found that over the post-War period the categories included in Budge's ideological dimension on average made up only 47% of the content of party manifestos from OECD countries (1998, p.92). This means that much remains to be examined before mandate theory has been fully checked, even in terms of the programme-policy relationship.
- b) They relate more to the volume of what parties say, not the specific policies they put forward. This is not to say that programmatic emphases are not important, but rather that it is also of interest to investigate specific pledges.
- c) This kind of research and more specifically, the methodology it uses caused much debate, praise and criticism in the 1990s (King and Laver, 1993; 1999; Topf, 1996). This is because while many researchers advocate the usefulness of factor and regression analyses for comparing multiple 'equations with different explanatory variables and identical dependent variables' on one level (Gibbons 2000, p.84; King 1986, p.677), some also recognise its limitations in establishing the strength of the policy-

programme implementation relationship (Achen 1982, p. 59), partly because coefficients with different units of measurement (e.g. agenda effects by manifesto emphases but ideology effects by length of government) cannot be compared (Schroder et al. 1986). Thome suggests that Klingemann et al.'s explanation of some of these effects is 'confusing' (1999, pp.571-574; Gibbons 2000, p.82) and indeed, concerns exist around estimating the political determinants of any range of outcomes using 'time-series cross-section data' (Beck and Katz 1995, p.634). Such concerns hold true of earlier studies where 'inadequate prior theorising' resulted in few guidelines by which to evaluate results and they often failed to adjust for differences in manifesto emphases over time (Gibbons 2000, p.70; Armstrong 1967, p.20; Klingemann 1987, p.302; for more on the kinds of concerns listed here, see also Gibbons' 2004 critique). Consequently, some subsequent saliency researchers have avoided factor analysis altogether and simply used their content analysis results and knowledge of the political system to develop scales for shifts in party ideology over time (Oates 1998, p.84).

- d) It is also problematic because apparently small policy changes, over a period of years, can lead to relatively large expenditure commitments when these decisions become part of the inheritance carried by future governments (Rose and Davies 1994, p.3).
- e) In addition, inferences about parties' positions using the MRG data result from the almost certainly invalid assumption that more mentions of particular policy *dimensions* imply extreme positions on them (Laver 1995, p.4). However, saliency levels and policy themes are two separate variables and they are not conflated in this way 'in other fields of political science, such as collective decision-making' (Thomson 1999, p.15; Bueno de Mesquita et al., 1985; Laumann and Knoke, 1987; Stokman and Van den Bos, 1992; Bueno de Mesquita and Stokman eds., 1994). This has led to some controversy in the literature concerning the party mandate-partisan effect link (King et al., 1993). In other words, talking about something at great length does not necessarily equate with an intention to commit greater or lesser financial resources to it, but this is what the saliency approach presupposes.

While some saliency researchers have sought to defend their methodology by explaining that it measures correspondence only, not causation (Hofferbert et al. 1993, p.748), subsequent efforts have been made to test causality more directly that have found an effect which occurs almost immediately once a party enters government (McDonald et al. 1999, p.592). However, given all of these considerations, on balance it does seem necessary to extend and differentiate both programme and policy research from a mandate theory perspective: on the side of election programmes - to specifically identify party commitments and policies; and with reference to policy output - to obtain more extensive measures of executive performance, covering other types of policy action, in addition to expenditure. Studies that have sought to do this have come to be referred to as 'the pledge approach to the study of the party mandate' (Thomson 1999, p.21) and some had already been completed by 1990, forming quite a well-defined set for Australia, Britain and Canada (Barrett, 1963; Finer, 1975; Rose, 1980: 1984; Rallings, 1987).³ While such studies have since been built on as will be discussed below, they pioneered attempts to assess the programme to policy linkage specifically for multiple governments and multiple policy priorities.

The method used in these studies has been to start with an election 'pledge', measured according to rather strict criteria, identified in the election programme (Kalogeropoulou 1993, p.13). The extent to which these are then reflected in official declarations of government policies such as Governor-General's speeches or government agreements is then checked in some cases. Following that, the policy output of the government over the entire inter-election period is examined to see the extent to which pledges have been fulfilled. To some extent, these earlier projects neglected administrative and expenditure measures, possibly because in Australia, Britain and Canada, like New Zealand, legislation is more of a prerequisite to government action. Some of their major findings were remarkably comparable.

Results generated by these studies are very interesting in that they established that:

A) Specific commitments to act do not occupy the bulk of election programmes. Depending on definitions, there were approximately 35 per manifesto in Britain (Rallings 1987, p.4) and 29 specific promises in Australia (Barrett 1963, p.53). Rose and Finer found more because of their broader definitions (Finer, 1975; Rose 1980,

³ There were other pre-1990 studies conducted in the US using this approach, but these are discussed separately below.

p.62). Rallings found that manifesto pledges in Canada are about 15 per programme. They are thus not a large part of the election manifesto content.

B) Specific planks are not usually found in central policy areas like in macro-economic policy; and where this does happen, are less likely to be carried out (Rallings 1987, pp. 13-14).

C) Notwithstanding these considerations, the rate of pledge implementation is generally rather impressive, almost two-thirds (63.7%) in Britain and over seven-tenths in Canada (71.5%). The Australian rate was marginally below that of Canada's (70.5%).

Given that governments often need to deal with unanticipated problems and changed circumstances once they take office, this could be considered an unexpectedly high implementation rate. It is perceived, however, that this is partly due to the fact that political parties usually make very few promises, while those that are made are very specific and limited (for instance such as increasing pensions, creating a new kind of government minister, selling state houses) so they can be fairly easily carried out (Budge et al. 2001, p.8). Thus the overall result of this research was that pledge fulfilment is a relatively minor mode of implementing election commitments. In turn, this produced the focus on policy emphases and government expenditures mentioned previously. If pledges were unimportant but manifestos were to be taken as meaning something, then it was assumed that the focus must be turned to measuring emphases and relating these to output. However, given that it has not been established that the electorate give more weight to general emphases as opposed to specific policies, that is a large assumption to make. In addition, more recent research including this work serve to question such an interpretation.

Other studies done for the United States have challenged the idea that commitments are not associated with central policy areas (Pomper 1968; Ginsberg 1976; Page 1978; Pomper and Lederman 1980; Smith 1981; Krukones 1984; Muller 1986; Royed 1992; 1996; Kinberg 1997; Royed and Borelli 1999; Ringquist and Dasse 2004). These show considerable differences among them in terms of the method employed to identify pledges and measure fulfilment, but they served to dispel some of the myths that had emerged around other pledge studies. These include, but are not limited to the following:

- a) Voters do vote on specific policies.
- b) For the most part, these votes translate into government action in line with manifesto commitments.

c) Manifestos contain many promises in central policy areas.

The work done through the 1990s by Royed (op. cit.) showed a clear correlation between election policy and government performance with around 60% implementation, keeping in mind the effects of shared control between the various institutions of government which are often split between the Republicans and Democrats in the United States.

As a group, the American studies do show a fair relationship between pledges made in the platform and subsequent legislative activity. However, owing to differing bases of measurement given the fact that the definition of a pledge or 'quasi' pledge varies quite widely also between these studies themselves, it is hard to draw comprehensive conclusions from them as a set. Migotti (2003) identifies linguistic and interpretive differences in the nature of pledges that impact on assessing pledge fulfilment, but notwithstanding these differences, the American studies do suggest that party pledges exert greater influence on policy than had been concluded by some of the earlier British studies. More recent analysis of the UK has confirmed what Royed (1996) had also come to find for Britain, that is, parties do make pledges in important policy areas and tend to keep their promises (Bara 2005, p.596), not uncommonly, over 80% of them. Thus, campaigns are good predictors of the policy performance of presidents and parties and provide the electorate with correct information on the policy choices before them in important policy areas (Boyle 1985, p.847 with reference to Krukones, 1984). Krukones highlights this by treating the major campaign issues separately from other issues that arose in the run-up to the election (1984).

The issue of whether pledges are an important way of enacting electoral preferences seems more open, then, than had been initially assumed (by saliency theorists in particular with the support of earlier non-US pledge studies). The findings of the US and more recent British studies have been reinforced by research from a range of countries, political systems and forms of government over the last 20 years. Together, these form a chorus of support for the importance, relevance and centrality of manifesto commitments in the functioning of the mandate model of party democracy. Efthalia Kalogeropoulou, whose research analysed election promises and government performance in Greece (1989, 1993), began the work of assessing implementation outside the traditional majoritarian Anglo-Saxon democracies, finding an average of 70% fulfilment. Robert Thomson then assessed election pledges and government actions in the Netherlands (1999; 2001) where it was found that

implementation rates were closer to 60% and more recently, Lucy Mansergh has applied the principles of the pledge approach to Ireland finding only 50% fulfilment (2004) and Bara has updated previous research on the UK (2005). There was an explosion of policy implementation research using the pledge approach in 2007. These studies have taken the pledge approach to a new level of application by either updating or extending the research within and beyond the English-speaking world or by continuing to apply it in contexts outside of simple plurality systems or through a combination of these factors. Mansergh and Thomson updated the work previously done in Ireland continuing to assert that there was a strong relationship between election programmes and government policy. Six more studies were completed in 2007. Artes and Bustos studied the relation between electoral policy proposals and subsequent government actions in the case of minority governments in Spain. They found that, even in the case of small parties and minority governments, electoral programmes are a good indicator of future government actions (p.25). Similar work has been done for France (Holmqvist), the EU⁴ (Naver and Urombi), Sweden (Naurin) and updates were presented for the US (Royed) and Ireland (Costello and Thomson) expanding on work previously done. These studies continued to confirm the central thesis of mandate theory that election pledges matter with about 60% of them fully or partly fulfilled in France (Holmqvist 2007, p.51), that pledges that are made are acted upon about 70 percent of the time by the Swedish parties in the EU (Naver and Urombi 2007, p.27) or in other words, pledges are fulfilled (Royed 2007, p.16) with up to 87 percent of the pledges acted upon in Sweden (Naurin 2007, p.19) and an average of 70 percent for Ireland⁵ (Costello and Thomson 2007, p.12) as examples of this. This is not to say that exceptions to this general pattern do not exist, (Latin America would provide one example (Stokes 2001) and a selected case in Ireland (Mansergh 2003)), but it is fair to say that a majority of governing party pledges are followed by concrete action.

⁴ Naver and Urombi looked at two Swedish parties in the EU, not the whole European Parliament.

⁵ The later period analysed by Costello and Thomson found considerably higher fulfilment than Mansergh had for the earlier period.

2.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTY COMPETITION AND THE ELECTION MANIFESTO

Modern democracy relies on the notion of informed choice giving citizens the option to select from a number of possible alternatives. Political parties link past and future policies in a unified agenda upon which voters are expected to make informed decisions. This is important since voters, by electing a party or parties to office, choose among alternative frameworks that will regulate their lives during the term of that government. The idea is that in a modern democracy, the people's wishes are an effective driver of policy (McClelland 1996, p.293) and that electoral responsiveness is a necessary requirement of democracy (Sartori 1987, pp.31-34). Therefore, even opposition parties' electoral appeals should be reflected in government action.

The system for achieving this is activated prior to a general election and is described by theories of party competition. It is a common experience that parties enter campaigns by presenting their political proposals, in one way or another, to potential voters during the short period preceding an election. Policy promises made during this period are considered by the electorate to be a guide for future government activity because by committing parties to particular policies, election programmes permit voters collectively to decide in elections what types of policies will be followed over the subsequent term of government (Katz 1997, pp.26-33). They constitute the specific mandate given to parties to govern and the yardstick by which that government's performance will be judged. The most common way to present these policy declarations is by including them in an official party document which will influence general debate and discussion during the campaign. It is therefore vital to examine the role these documents play as information economising devices as they summarise policy commitments. They are commonly referred to as manifestos, party platforms, election policies or policy documents and it has been said that parties thoughts for continued survival are organised around the one thing they know: that they will need to produce one for the next election, whenever it comes (King 1972, p.124). Such a scenario is seen by some to be so crucial to the effective workings of party politics, that in countries where they are not used such as Japan, scholars have suggested that manifestos would be the means of achieving a party democracy in which few indulgences could be tolerated, thus generating a more stable participatory system (Takeshi 2003, pp.27-31). This is partly because they would end independents

in Japan's Diet as voters related their preferences to concrete manifesto promises and only substantial parties could hope to implement these.

While just thin leaflets in the early days, election manifestos throughout the world have nowadays been transformed into illustrated brochures containing a substantial amount of political information. Those party manifestos or platforms, are often written by a relatively small group of actors within the political party structure (party bureaucrats)(Katz and Mair, 1994), endorsed by party officers and leaders and represent a unified view of those societal problems the group considers important at the time of the election and offer a set of proposals for addressing them. The inclusion of specific commitments in parties' manifestos has also been attributed to demands made by party members (Garry and Mansergh 1999, pp.88-9). These policies change from time to time when prompted by poor polling and the parties directly respond to real world developments such as depressed economic and labour market situations (Kleinnijenhuis and Rietberg 1995, p.114; Keman 1997, p.174). Research based on British, United States and German manifestos shows that poor electoral performance is usually a necessary, though not always sufficient, condition to produce major changes in a party's programme (Janda et al. 1995, pp.188-9). This may be why historians and political scientists frequently structure accounts of electoral politics around changes in the content of election manifestos (Milne 1966, pp.48-67; Chapman 1992, pp.352-354). Though manifestos themselves may not be read by the majority of voters, in many states communication studies have ascertained that much information in the document reaches them via various forms of mass media (Rohrbach, 1991). Indeed, most election policy conveyed by parties and candidates during election campaigns corresponds closely with the manifesto.

These manifestos represent the outcome of laborious party efforts and usually receive initial public attention at campaign launches or during press conferences or releases and their content is disseminated by media reports on these events. Just as there are many different forms of political system, each country has its sometimes unique way for parties to present their election appeal. While for example in Japan, party representatives give an interview to specialist journalists of a prominent newspaper, in Australia there is an hour-long televised speech delivered by major party leaders in front of an invited audience. In Greece, personalities play a high-profile role in political life where the speech delivered by party leaders days before the election at public rallies of party supporters in Athens is televised and reported by newspapers the following day and serves as a manifesto equivalent, as winning parties

do not always present such a document during the election period. This is not an issue in New Zealand where there is a long history of party manifesto publication stretching back a century, although election policy often begins to emerge long before this is produced or the party has even presented them at its official campaign launch (Kalogeropoulou 1993, p.34; Gibbons 2003, p.2).

The attention given in this and similar studies to the election policy document can be justified because it has traditionally represented the main weapon parties utilise, although often not directly, in their fight for supremacy in an election and even though parties have shifted to putting detailed policies on their websites over the last decade, for over 40 years, every party that has lead a government in New Zealand has produced a manifesto-style document and this was still the case as of the last general election in 2005. Elaborate negotiations sometimes take place in PR systems where joint manifestos emerge before an election, as in Ireland and France in 1973, indicating the relevance accorded them by parties as well as by the electorate (Budge 1987, p.15). There is considerable effort put into them and their content is of particular importance for both reasons of competitive advantage and electoral performance. Traditional theories of electoral competition perceive parties as confronting each other on different policy agendas in a zero-sum game, moving accordingly to capture the maximum number of votes possible. In that sense, Downs' (1957) influential work, as has been noted, is seen as a working out of mandate theory in a one-dimensional spatial context. Political parties are vote-oriented and therefore policy seeking as the way to obtaining government. Therefore, in order to obtain office, parties must present appealing policies that are marketable to the electorate as they battle in what is effectively, an economic competition.

Whether we accept this to be the case or not, however, in any analysis of party competition based on policy implementation; the common denominator is that all parties present pledges in one form or another because they believe they can influence voting behaviour at the election, in spite of long-term trends created by socio-economic cleavages or political identification. By issuing manifestos they intend to help voters decide and encourage them to favour their party. The stronger the mandate given, the higher the public requirement for the government to perform accordingly would be. However, because single-party governments, or the longer-lived coalitions, are in a better position to fulfil election promises, the government's structure plays a role in pledge implementation (Mazmanian and Sabitier, 1989; Torenvlied, 1996).

Such governments should therefore be expected to perform more fully in accordance with their pledged programme.

The degree to which this occurs is influenced by a number of defining variables, not least of which is the importance the government places on the policy-based popular electoral mandate notion. However, there are clearly other significant determining factors which affect a government's policy implementation output. These factors include associative encouragement resulting from the stimulation or endorsement of certain ideas or courses of action by those closely associated with important individual political actors or parties (Alley 1989), the unplanned exigencies of changed circumstances or changing public opinion (Harper 1955, pp.119-20), placing portfolios in the hands of those politicians with private incentives to carry them out (Laver and Shepsle 1990, p.506; 1994; 1996) and background variables reflected in the circumstances surrounding the formation of a political party (Budge and Robertson, 1987) as an historical entity rooted in particular societal niches (Lipset and Rokkan 1967, p.47). For example, a socialist party would therefore simply not be taken seriously if it adopted policies, in an outright manner, associated with conservative traditions.

Although election manifestos should be a good reflection of a party's political position, the most important questions surrounding them are whether electors actually use programme policies as a basis for their voting choices and whether they account constantly and accurately for future actions on policy in the subsequent term of government (Kalogeropoulou 1993, pp.3-35). It is the second of these points that the current research will investigate in New Zealand. That is, the extent to which election policy can account for government actions in New Zealand for the 33 years up to and including 2005.

2.4 THE NEW ZEALAND CASE

New Zealand has not been well-served in scholarly assessments of the fulfilment of its governments pre-election promises. It appears to be a widely held belief that in New Zealand in the 1970s, Labour's Norman Kirk and National's Robert Muldoon displayed a Whitlam-like obsession with their election policies (Mulgan 1989, pp.64-5), while during the decade after 1984, there was a collapse in the conventions of electoral accountability symbolised by the willingness of governments to break clear promises to the electorate (Mulgan 1997, p.302). There appears to have been a

divergence during this period between the ideological positions of New Zealand political parties and their electorates as has been evidenced by a representative survey of voters (Vowles & Aimer 1993, p.203; Vowles et. al. 1998, pp.91-2).

As they used the elective dictatorship offered them by the Westminster system to carry out fundamental, and arguably unmandated, restructuring (Mulgan 1992, p.528), the Fourth Labour and National Governments made significant decisions which were in breach of manifesto commitments (Palmer 1992, p.10), a situation which some commentators assert the advent of MMP does not seem to have completely changed (Prebble, 2000). This collapse coincided with a manifesto downsizing which gave cabinet ministers during this period maximum policy autonomy as part of a move towards a very elitist approach to policymaking (Mulgan 1990, pp.16-17). This approach undermined the importance of elections as mechanisms to protect individual liberties, by guarding against the abuse of power (Pennock 1979, pp.315-21).

However, while this seems to be the case, this has not been thoroughly tested. There have been two pre-PR saliency studies (Robertson, 1987; Gibbons, 2000). The latter of these, used a similar method to that employed by Klingemann (1994) by comparing manifesto emphases to government expenditure from 1911-1996. Using this method, Gibbons found that left-right and new politics cleavages have divided New Zealand political parties, thus establishing clear alternatives to voters. His thesis indicated that there was generally a strong correlation between manifesto emphases and public expenditure, but that this was much less the case from the early 1980s to the early 1990s (Gibbons 2000, pp.320-21). This latter finding will be tested in the current research using the pledge approach to establish the extent to which this was the case.

Over the years, a large literature has grown up which has tended to focus on a few very important and high profile promises while ignoring the more vague statements or less exciting pledges which dominate the content of election programmes (Mitchell 1969, p.153) and some qualitative evaluations of the work of various governments normally produced by political parties (e.g. Thorn, 1937; Hunt, 1975). There was a less partisan assessment of the third Labour government, which was not comprehensive as it only looked at selected policy areas that were not chosen according to objective criteria (Goldstein, 1975).

There have also been a number of quasi-analytical commentaries on various governments such as Garnier and Levine's examination of the third National

government's record as a pretext to setting the scene for the 1981 General Election (1981). None of these sought to combine a qualitative assessment with a quantitative analysis of election promise-keeping in the way the pledge approach does. This has created the domestic research niche necessary for the undertaking of the current work by examining the extent to which election policy in New Zealand becomes enacted government policy and how this may have changed over time.

In addition to this, it has been noted internationally, that there is something of a gap in terms of our knowledge of the fulfilment of pledges in coalition systems of government that are far more typical of modern Europe (Gallagher et al. 1995, p.347) and contemporary New Zealand. Indeed, it has even been suggested that the 'mandate' or 'responsible party' models are hardly applicable in multi-party systems with coalition governments; a party's manifesto can only be a bargaining counter in which some policies are accepted and some are rejected in the course of negotiations with the other coalition parties (Kavanagh 1981, p.24). Some scholars have gone even further, suggesting that the formation of governing coalitions in certain western European parliamentary democracies is also a process of formulating policy (Peterson and De Ridder 1986, p.565).

The collaborative efforts of Mansergh and Thomson certainly provide thought-provoking insight into allegations such as this (2004). Through their analyses into the links between election pledges and enactment in two European coalition contexts, they find that not only are manifestos still important in the coalition context, but the pledges they contain are often on issues that are considered to be of importance (Mansergh and Thomson 2004, p.27). However, in New Zealand's case where two different systems have existed in recent history, the extent to which this is the case has yet to be tested and is therefore a major purpose of the current research.

It must also be noted that New Zealand's immaturity with proportional representation has meant that it is still transitioning from a strict two-party to a truly multi-party system with robust second-level parties which means that the New Zealand electoral competition is still in some ways essentially a two-horse race. The degree to which this is likely to change, and if it does, the speed at which this occurs, remains to be seen. At any rate, given that successive New Zealand governments have enjoyed the freedom of a unicameral system for over half a century, it is expected that policy implementation rates should be very high, as it has already been shown that bi-cameral systems (in which we could expect policy implementation to be more

difficult with the possibility of split houses), have produced implementation rates in excess of two-thirds.

This thesis will therefore fill a gap in the literature in the following ways:

1. It will be the first study in the world to assess the impact of a change in the electoral system on policy implementation. The comparison of majoritarian and proportional systems in the same country will make the research unique.
2. It will be the first study in New Zealand to assess systematically and longitudinally the direct programme to policy linkages of successive governments.
3. It will answer the following unanswered questions in the New Zealand context:

How many promises have been made in various manifestos?

Does this number vary significantly by party/time/system?

What proportion of election promises of governing parties are fulfilled (i.e. to what extent do parties fulfil their pre-election promises when given the opportunity to do so)?

Is the proportion significantly different by party?

Does the proportion change over time or by system?

Are parties more or less likely to make promises on particularly important issues such as health, education and the economy?

Have the number of promises made in the manifestos of major parties entering government been consistent over time?

Do parties specialise in certain policy areas thus making more promises in these areas than in others?

Are parties more likely to keep promises the longer they are in government or in other words, if incumbent?

Is there a relationship between policy implementation and electoral support (i.e. do voters reward promise-keeping with increased electoral support)?

Does the orientation of coalition partners on the left-right policy scale impact on fulfilment?

In this research, then, a unique mixture and modification of Barrett (1963), Pomper and Lederman (1980), Rose (1980), Rallings (1987), Royed (1992), Kalogeropoulou (1993), Thomson (1999) and Mansergh's (2004) pledge methods is used to test whether there is a strong relationship between promises made in New Zealand

election manifestos and subsequent governmental actions or policy outcomes. The method used to analyse policy implementation links specific pledges to enactment, unlike alternative saliency methods. While the methodology used is nominally different from that employed by Royed, Kalogeropoulou, Thomson and Mansergh in their methodologies for Great Britain, the United States, Greece, the Netherlands and Ireland, it is hoped that the measurements obtained will somewhat relate to studies conducted around the world and within the general body of research done in other countries that have been analysed. Since their policy fulfilment methodologies have been used in a range of quite different democracies, claims that New Zealand fits favourably with the application of mandate theory by international standards will be ascertained.

Ultimately, given that democracy means popular government and the functioning of that popular government in a representative democracy is through representatives, it remains to be tested whether those representatives act in accordance with electoral mandates or personal conscience in New Zealand. We come back to Burke. The question is now hundreds of years old, but unanswered in New Zealand.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This chapter sets out the decisions that were taken in the course of this research regarding the selection of cases, measurements of concepts and methods of analysis. In the first section (3.1), the main arguments that were considered prior to the collection of data on pre-election pledges made by the two main New Zealand parties will be stated. Particular attention will be paid to the implications of the selection of these cases for the evaluation of the hypotheses specified in Chapter One: Given the selection of these cases, are some of the hypotheses more or less likely to be confirmed or rejected? In the second section of this chapter (3.2), the operationalisation of concepts is discussed. This includes a description of how election pledges and their enactment were identified and how reliable these measurements are. Finally, section 3.3 addresses the way in which the data are analysed in this study.

3.1 THE SELECTED CASES

The empirical focus of this research consists of the election pledges made by the two main New Zealand parties, prior to the national elections from 1972-2005. All pledges contained in the election programmes of the prospective governing of these two parties were identified. The enactment of 10% of these pledges was evaluated. This section contains a justification and consideration of the implications of these choices.

3.1.1 Why Study the Enactment of Election Pledges in New Zealand?

The first hypothesis stated in Chapter One is that:

H1: If the number of commitments in a manifesto is lower, then the proportion of the manifesto devoted to socio-economic issues will be higher.

There has been a significant amount of research done internationally and in New Zealand on various aspects of election manifestos. One of the aspects that has been considered in some depth has involved using changes in the length of manifestos as an indicator of parties' attitudes towards democracy and the role of the state. During the post-war period election programmes have grown in length in most countries, in the process often changing from brief pamphlets to documents the size of a short novel (Klingemann et al 1994, p.21). The trend for manifestos to grow longer over time has normally been attributed to parties' policies becoming more specific and less ideological, the expansion of the role of the state in the economy and growth in the number of electorally significant social groups (Rose 1980, p.55; Topf 1994, p.150; Gibbons 2000, p.78). There has been very little analysis of how manifesto length affects the nature of the content by proportion.

If the research that has been done is accurate, we would expect the reverse to be true with New Zealand manifestos shrinking after the 1980s. That is to say, they should have become smaller as parties have become less specific and more ideological, there has been a contraction in the role of the state in the economy and a decrease in the number of electorally significant social groups. While all of these dimensions will not be analysed in this study, one dimension will be – the relationship between manifesto length and the saliency of content relative to high profile socio-economic policy areas. Specifically, these are defined as health, housing, education, welfare and the economy. If the growth in manifesto length can be attributed to specificity, we would expect to find a great diversity of policy areas in longer manifestos that does not exist in smaller versions. That is to say, instead of there being the same number of policy areas presented with fewer promises in each in smaller manifestos, it is hypothesised that many of the peripheral areas are sacrificed as manifestos are simplified to focus on core areas of more general appeal.

A superficial assessment reveals that the decrease in manifesto size in New Zealand has coincided with a massive state restructuring programme that has seen the government withdraw from many of the areas it had previously been actively engaged in. Some of the notable examples of public sector retreat involve the removal of agricultural subsidies, the corporatisation of most broadcasting media, deregulation in the provision of much tertiary education, simplification of the tax system, allowing foreign and private sector investment to replace the government's role in providing development loans, the privatisation of New Zealand's forest assets, the removal of import restrictions, the removal of compulsory unionism and introduction of

individually negotiated employment contracts, the dilution of government involvement in producer boards, the sale or corporatisation of energy resources and public works operations, the relinquishment of control over market prices, the privatisation of New Zealand's railways, the corporatisation of publicly funded science and research facilities, the sale or corporatisation of ports, airports, shipping, airlines and the Tourist Hotel Corporation as well as a range of other transport operations that were publicly controlled before 1984 to name just a few. Clearly, such a withdrawal of state involvement would be reflected in manifesto content. For example, there is no point having an agriculture policy that simply states: 'We wish farmers well without fertiliser, irrigation and supplementary minimum price subsidies as we remove import tariffs on foreign primary products.' This would clearly not be a vote catcher and after all, that is what manifestos are designed to do. Therefore, this thesis will assess the extent to which changes in manifesto size, as measured by number of pledges, is reflected in the nature of the policy areas presented.

The second hypothesis stated in Chapter One is:

H2: If a party returns to office for a second or third term as an incumbent, then it will achieve a higher level of pledge fulfilment in each successive term than it did in its previous term.

This hypothesis revolves around the idea that the longer a party is in power, the more likely it will be to fulfil its commitments. Theoretically, one would expect this to be the case for a number of reasons which fall on two sides of the policy-performance link. Firstly, in terms of policy formation, opposition governments are more prone to present policy which is radical and reformist. This relates to the fact that they seek to distance themselves from the current government and offer a programme which is distinctly different from the party in power, otherwise why would voters be persuaded to vote for a change of party in government, if this appeared to practically change nothing. Secondly, on the performance side, however, it is more difficult to change policy than maintain the status quo or at least the same policy direction with minor adjustments or amendments. But this is what new governments often attempt to do, make major changes to policy direction while incumbent parties tend to take a business as usual approach. Indeed, to not do so would be an admission that the previous decisions they had made were wrong resulting in potential electoral suicide. But for new parties in government in New Zealand, it has not always been possible for them to have an accurate knowledge of the public accounts until they actually sat on the Treasury benches. While changes to public fiscal accountability have occurred

in recent years, this new level of transparency for opposition parties was not a feature of the FPP period. In addition, bureaucratic cumulative inertia means that the longer public departments have operated under a particular executive regime, the more difficult it is to change the policy approach and redirect efforts to comply with new government programmes. This means that new governments will find it more difficult to implement policy than incumbents as they first confront a degree of resistance within the bureaucratic institutions of government. For these reasons, it is anticipated that parties returned to office will have more success in fulfilling election pledges than parties moving from the opposition benches with ambitious proposals for change.

Results from international research on this proposition have been mixed. For example, Mansergh found in Ireland a clear correlation between length of time in government and pledge fulfilment (2003, p.188). Probably the best example would be from Sweden. Here, Naurin found that the Social Democrats have managed an 87% fulfilment rate while governing for 60 out of the last 70 years (2007, pp.4&19). On the other hand, Kalogeropoulou found that incumbency related to a decrease in policy implementation (1993, p.257). Which of these is the case for New Zealand is unknown. Therefore, this forms one of the central propositions of this research because if incumbency does not relate to increased policy implementation, what is the point in returning parties to government, however, if it does, it makes sense to keep parties in power as long as possible so long as their policies are acceptable.

The third hypothesis stated in Chapter One is that:

H3: If a party forms the government under FPP, then it will fulfil a greater proportion of its election planks than if it forms part of the government under MMP.

As became clear in chapter two, there is already a considerable amount of evidence regarding the enactment of parties' pledges in countries with majoritarian electoral systems and single party governments: the United Kingdom, Canada, United States, Australia and Greece. Until 1999, however, no such investigation had been carried out on a coalition system of government (Gallagher, Laver and Mair 1995, p. 347). This has since changed with studies on the Netherlands (Thomson 1999), Ireland (Mansergh 2003), Sweden (Naurin 2007), France (Holmqvist 2007) and Spain (Artes & Bustos 2007). The single most important reason for selecting New Zealand is that it enables an investigation of the programme to policy linkage in a country that has had both systems of government. For the first time, an intranational inter-systemic comparison will be possible.

Recall that Klingemann et al. (1994) used the saliency approach, discussed in chapter two, to examine the congruence between parties' thematic emphases and government spending patterns in ten countries (mainly with coalition governments) throughout the post-War period. Subsequently, this approach was adapted to New Zealand by Matthew Gibbons (2000). In his prospective discussion of the New Zealand case, he suggested that there were three main reasons to be optimistic about the ongoing probability of strong party policy to implementation linkages notwithstanding the likelihood of coalition governments under the MMP system (*ibid.*, pp. 313-314). Firstly, he argues that although no party will usually be able to implement its entire programme, by increasing electoral competition, proportional representation increases the costs for parties that depart from their pre-election policies and long-term principles. Secondly, the increase in the size of Parliament resulting from the introduction of MMP, he claims, would also tend to dilute the power of the executive, thus reducing the possibility of unmandated agenda-based policy creation such as was criticised by Geoffrey Palmer in the 80s and 90s and led to public demand for electoral reform (1987). Finally, through a number of legislative changes, the potential for elective dictatorship has been reduced because the Fourth Labour government repealed legislation providing governments with a 'blank cheque' to enact regulations to control the economy. The Reserve Bank Act (1989) has made changes in government economic policies more transparent. Similarly, the Fiscal Responsibility Act (1994) constrains the ability of governments to hide the state of the economy and means that parties now know the real economic situation when making their pre-election commitments. It was this lack of transparency that successive governments in the 80s and 90s blamed for failure to honour manifesto commitments. Whether these measures have in fact had an impact on pledge fulfilment, will be partly determined by the results of this study.

Since Gibbons' comments were made, it has indeed become obvious that coalition governments are now necessary in New Zealand because no single party has gained enough parliamentary seats to form a government by itself. The new electoral system is one of proportional representation. This means that there is a close correspondence between the percentage of votes cast for a party and the percentage of parliamentary seats that it receives. Highly proportional electoral systems are typically associated with large numbers of parties (Budge and Newton et al. 1997, pp. 227-237). Indeed, since the introduction of MMP, three-quarters of the elections have required the governing party to obtain support from at least two other parties

represented in the house in order to establish a working majority. Klingemann et al. suggest that the presence of many parties in government makes it difficult for the election programme of any one party to be transmuted into government actions (1994, p. 208). In the New Zealand situation, however, it appears that at least Labour has managed to engender support from smaller parties with limited trade-offs. Most importantly, in this context, three of the elections (1999, 2002 & 2005) have produced formal minority Labour-led coalitions which have required additional support from outside the coalition, but because of the number of parties vying for some policy recognition, Labour has managed to escape the need for either long and detailed coalition agreements or extensive formal agreements for supply and confidence which would seriously jeopardise their ability to fulfil their own election pledges. Until recently, minority governments had been considered an anomaly, but Artes and Bustos have made a comparison using an equal number of majority and minority coalition governments in Spain to test fulfilment for coalition partners in which they found smaller parties successful in implementing policy even in minority situations (2007, p.3). In New Zealand, the reluctance of smaller partners to insist on major policy trade-offs since 1996 has probably occurred as a consequence of the first majority National-led coalition which all but destroyed the parliamentary arm of its minor coalition partner – New Zealand First - which had worked out an extremely detailed agreement. Notwithstanding this, as can be seen from Table 3.1, during the 1996-2005 period, the incumbent minority parties from the previous coalitions have all suffered electoral decreases at the following election.

This suggests that the major parties are in a powerful enough position to ensure a level of policy implementation not that unlike what they would expect if they were in a majority position. The case for policy implementation from the smaller parties may be much more tenuous. The 1996-1999 government was formed with an incredibly detailed 72-page coalition agreement that contained a pedantic preoccupation with government policy. In terms of the number of policies involved, National's 1996 manifesto only contained 79 direct pledges, so compared to previous documents, there wasn't much to trade-off. On the other hand, while policies featured in the agreement, it seemed that Winston Peters (NZFirst Leader) was more concerned with offices and in this regard, he and New Zealand First were handsomely rewarded, but it could be argued that filling those offices with inexperienced members led to the party's subsequent problems. Considering the Labour-Alliance coalition of 1999, while there was a definite philosophical policy push from the Alliance, this was

not reflected in the one and a half page coalition agreement that was notably vague and stands in stark contrast to the previous government's arrangement. This would ultimately come to prove as problematic due to lack of detail as the previous governments' had because it contained too much. However, this has nevertheless become the model that has been subsequently followed in relation to coalition agreements. In other words, similar documents have been used by the coalition governments of the 21st century. This therefore presents a legitimate reason in itself to study the enactment of election pledges in New Zealand, to determine whether coalescing has undermined the major parties' power to implement policy or at least whether the change in the electoral system has changed the level of pre-election policy implementation of the major parties as a result of the complications associated with inter-party negotiation and compromise.

Table 3.1 Coalition Party's Parliamentary Seat Numbers in Coalescent and Immediately Subsequent Elections 1996-2005 (Election year)

Party	Coalescent Election	Subsequent Election
New Zealand First	17(1996)	5(1999)
Alliance	10(1999)	0(2002)
Progressive Coalition	2(2002)	1(2005)
United Future*	8(2002)	3(2005)

*Informal coalition partner promising confidence and supply only.

Sources: New Zealand Official Yearbook (1997, 2002 & 2004) and Elections website 1/10/05.

The final hypothesis stated in Chapter One is that:

H4: If a party in government fulfils more election promises than a previous term of government, then it will increase its share of the vote at the subsequent election.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the idea that voters reward parties that keep promises is central to democratic theory. Without this, the mandate would be meaningless and the economic theory of democracy would be seriously undermined. It would mean that making promises in elections was merely a dance to attract votes off an electorate that put no weight on the results of their fulfilment. Burke's delegate would be only a fantastic ideal while in operation, the electorate was choosing

representatives in whom they placed ultimate trust to judge wisely the affairs of the country regardless of any pre-election rhetoric relating to policy programmes. To make a long story short, we would expect to find a correlation between the level of policy implementation and the level of subsequent electoral support and trust.

However, research from around the world has indicated that irrespective of pledge fulfilment, many, even most people believe political parties to be characterised by broken promises rather than kept commitments. When putting a range of variables in a regression model to test what explains the image of the promise-breaking politician, Naurin found that the electorate use much more general criteria to judge political trustworthiness than the actual fulfilment of manifesto pledges. For example, the most significant factors affecting someone's image of political integrity were 'satisfaction with the public service at a local level', 'trust in other people' and 'identification with governmental party' (2007, pp.9-10). Given such discouraging results from a mandate modeller's perspective, is this lack of faith in governing parties translated into a withdrawal of electoral support or does significant fulfilment inspire support for particular promise-keeping parties even though there is a general attitude of wariness? More specifically, can we witness this phenomena at work in New Zealand? Thus, this thesis will examine and assess whether parties who keep promises get rewarded with votes.

3.1.2 The Selection of the Two Main Parties

This section provides a short description of the parties selected for analysis in this research. As mentioned above, New Zealand has had both a majoritarian and a proportional electoral system. Since 1972, 18 different political parties have been represented in the New Zealand parliament, with no more than 11 at any given time. Only two of these are included in the analysis. These two are the Labour Party (NZLP) and the National Party (NZNP). These two parties were selected for inclusion in this study because they are generally considered to be the ones with 'governing potential'. That is to say, one of these is expected to either form the government or lead the coalition that does. Either one or other of them has been in government for the entire period under consideration in this study. None of the other parties have ever received more votes than either of these two parties at national elections. Together, as

shown in Table 3.2, these two parties received between 62 and 92% of the total votes cast at recent parliamentary elections.

Table 3.2 Election Results and Parliamentary Seats

Election Year	Labour		National		Total	
	% Vote	Seats	% Vote	Seats	% Vote	Seats
1972	48.4	55	41.5	32	89.9	87(87)
1975	39.6	32	47.6	55	87.2	87(87)
1978	40.4	40	39.8	51	80.2	91(92)
1981	39.0	43	38.8	47	77.8	90(92)
1984	43.0	56	35.9	37	78.9	93(95)
1987	48.0	57	44.0	40	92.0	97(97)
1990	35.1	29	47.8	67	82.9	96(97)
1993	34.7	45	35.1	50	69.8	95(99)
1996	28.2	37	33.8	44	62.0	81(120)
1999	38.7	49	30.5	39	69.2	88(120)
2002	41.3	52	20.9	27	62.2	79(120)
2005	41.1	50	39.1	48	80.2	98(121)
Average	39.8	45	37.9	45	77.7	90(102)

Source: Electoral Commission; Total number of seats in parliament in boldface.

% Vote = % Party Vote after 1993.

These two parties are, in comparison with the other parties, particularly concerned with drawing up a realistic set of policy proposals in their election programmes. There is a third party that has received at least 20% of the vote in a general election, but this only translated into two parliamentary seats in the 1981 parliament because of the majoritarian system operating at the time. It may be of interest to note, however, that as a percentage of the vote, Social Credit received only .23% less of the popular vote in 1981 than National did in 2002. Indeed, in the 11 elections from 1954-1984 in which Social Credit competed, they never got less than 6.7% of the popular vote, well above the MMP threshold for parliamentary representation without electorate seats. The party changed its name to the Democrats for the 1987 election and its popularity has declined ever since. It might be argued that despite the fact that Social Credit never participated in government, it did have

the potential to influence government due to the size of its vote share. This is also the case with other small parties that have since participated in government with a smaller percentage of the vote share under MMP and which are also excluded from this analysis, even though the inclusion of these parties would be of some interest to the question of whether or not a party mandate exists in New Zealand. However, their exclusion is not expected to bias the results of the analysis. It is unlikely that this study would conclude that a party mandate exists, when inclusion of these smaller parties would lead to the conclusion that it does not. These smaller parties generally take more extreme positions than the two selected parties. Therefore, the inclusion of these parties would be likely to increase the number of opposition party pledges that were not enacted, thereby increasing support for the hypothesis that a mandate exists. Aside from this, a study of the only two parties that have unquestionable governing potential and that together receive up to over 90 per cent of the popular vote is of sufficient scope to warrant interest.

It has become common among political commentators to refer to the so-called left-right ideological dimension, on which parties can be placed, when describing the party system of any given country. New Zealand is no exception in this respect (e.g. Mulgan 2004; Miller 2005, p. 162; Vowles et. al. 2002; Gibbons 2000). The left-right dimension can be used to summarise the positioning of political parties to the extent that the positions they take on the most important issues relate to each other in a consistent and meaningful way. That is to say, parties' positions on issues associated with redistribution, such as social services and taxation, are associated with their positions on issues related to individual freedom, national defence, free market economics and traditional morality. Exactly which of these issues should be included in the left-right dimension is determined by the issues that are perceived to be salient by the political actors in the system. Miller's analysis of ideology and policy is one of the most recent assessments on the question of the dimensionality of the New Zealand party system (2005). He concludes that when the institutional and vote-maximising accounts are compared, the latter appears to be the more currently relevant and persuasive. This means that parties seem to be more concerned about making policies to win elections rather than winning elections to make policies. This was also the conclusion of earlier research with the exception of the 1981-1996 period where parties diverged from the norm of signalling their subsequent policy line reasonably accurately (Gibbons 2000). Gibbons also showed that the importance of the economic left-right dimension is not static and that other issues, such as those associated with

the old politics-new politics dimension, have at times been more important as they were between 1972 and 1990 (p. 241). In another research project, a survey was conducted among the candidates of parties that were represented in the parliament in 2002. These individuals were asked to summarise their own political views by placing themselves on a ten point left-right scale (Vowles et al. 2004). The results, contained in Table 3.3, provide an indication of the positioning of the New Zealand parties. From Table 3.3 it can be seen that the two main parties included in this study are placed a considerable distance apart and on either side of the centre of the left-right dimension. To the left of the Labour Party, there is the Alliance. To the right of the National Party, one finds ACT (the other four parties self-place in between Labour and National).

Table 3.3 Self-Placement of Candidates of New Zealand Parliamentary Parties on a Left-Right Dimension in 2002

Party	Left-Right Position
	1: Extreme Left; 10: Extreme Right
Alliance	2.07
Labour	2.95
Green	2.96
Progressive	3.44
NZ First	4.91
United Future	5.87
National	7.38
ACT	7.71

Source: Vowles et. al. 2004 (from 2002 NZES Candidate Survey).

The Labour Party is a social democratic party. On the socio-economic issues with which it is most commonly associated, it has historically been a supporter of a strong welfare state and a progressive system of taxation. Since its formation in 1916, the party has sought participation in government office. Like any large political party, Labour brings together a coalition of more radical and moderate factions. Over the years, the influence of the left wing of the party has fluctuated. It was particularly strong during the mid 1930s and again in the mid 1990s. Around the mid 1980s, a reappraisal of the party's main policy stances began. This was accompanied by the

election of a new party leader, David Lange. Similar reappraisals occurred in social democratic parties across the globe. The conclusion of this review of the party's strategy was that the party should attempt to address key economic issues. However, the pursuit of government was also given a higher priority which meant appealing to a broader electoral base. A more radical approach was to be adopted (although this was not immediately evident to electors) with potential bureaucratic and business partners because, at least as far as the campaign of 1981 was concerned, an unwillingness to confront issues on the part of Labour was blamed for the parties' continued exclusion from government (Garnier and Levine 1981). These interpretations of events are consistent with more systematic quantitative descriptions of the movements of the Labour Party on the left-right dimension during the post War period (e.g. Gibbons 2000, p. 240). These identify a convergence between Labour and National in the 1970s, which was reversed in the 1980s. Clearly, the historical evidence points to the conclusion that the time period selected for analysis in this study is one in which the Labour Party took varying stances ranging from left through centre to right and back towards the centre-left. If some of the more radical Labour Party initiatives were included in their election programmes and therefore the analysis, it may be the case that more enacted election pledges would be found. Indeed, Caldwell noted the disappointment of the non-Parliamentary Labour Party at how little of their election programmes of 1984 and 1987 were enacted during the 1984-1990 government, in which Labour had uncompromised representation (1989, pp. 108-111).⁶

The National Party formed in 1936. It grew out of the coalition government of the Reform and Liberal Parties, which had formed the wartime National Government in 1915. The party is most commonly associated with a strong classical liberal emphasis on individualism and the encouragement of individual effort and initiative, together with a new liberal desire to promote "progressive and humanitarian legislation". These include the introduction of policies making it easier for state house tenants to buy their home in the 1950s to a universal superannuation scheme funded from general taxation in the 1970s. The party's expressed intention has been to 'spend wisely, promote life-long education, and rid New Zealand of the restrictions that

⁶ At the 1989 Labour Party Conference the leadership of the Labour Government entered into an "accord" with the non-Parliamentary Labour Party, whereby the Government undertook to follow the policies contained in the Party's election manifestos. This agreement was precipitated by the Party's concern that the Government had apparently been prepared to depart from previous manifesto statements concerning such matters as the public ownership of Postbank (NZ Labour Party 1987 Policy Document p. 9), and the "absolute" commitment to "consultation and fair negotiation" with employees of the State (ibid p. 89).

strangle individual initiative.’ National’s election programmes, to a large extent, address the same scope of policy issues dealt with in Labour’s programmes. The party attempts to combine socialist and liberal principles in a pragmatic manner. While supporting the main principles of the welfare state, it seeks to expand individual freedom of choice wherever possible. As a result, the party is often described as ‘progressive liberal’ or ‘social liberal’, to distinguish it from the ‘conservative liberal’ United Future. The electoral support for National has fluctuated considerably over the years. The party did particularly well at the 1990 parliamentary election, at the end of the 1984-1990 Labour Government. Many people who had voted for the Labour Party at the previous election supported National in 1990. This is thought to be due to Labour’s disregard for election promises made over the previous two elections, particularly on social services. The electoral success of National meant that they could continue a similar policy line to that pursued by the previous Labour Government that the electorate had so resoundingly rejected. This gave National the opportunity of bringing about a conclusion to much of the unfinished business of the Fourth Labour Government, with respect to economic and fiscal matters. It also meant the exclusion of much of what the electorate had actually wanted in supporting a change in government. This is arguably the greatest contribution the party has made to transforming New Zealand politics: in particular, because the ensuing widespread disenchantment of the electorate with elitist policy agendas provided the necessary catalyst for a change in the electoral system.

The usefulness of the left-right dimension for understanding relationships between the New Zealand parties is unquestioned. The positioning of the main parties on this dimension makes clear why the Labour Party and the National Party have never been represented in the same government in 70 years. The left-right dimension provides a summary of the positions of the parties on a range of issues: in particular, their positions on the socio-economic issues which dominate the agenda of contemporary politics and are also of concern in this study. There are, of course, particular issues on which the ordering of parties can be different. If the terms left and right are taken to mean secular and religious, then in some countries, particularly those in Western Europe, this can affect placement as there are secular-conservative parties and religious-socialist parties. This is not evident in New Zealand, however, and this complication therefore need not be considered at great length. On ethical issues, such as abortion and euthanasia, members of the parliamentary Labour Party generally support a greater degree of individual freedom of choice than National

members (Moran 2005, p. 4). This fits the traditional model nicely, so the existence of such issues is not such that it detracts from the importance of the socio-economically defined left-right dimension and the above ordering of the two main parties, for understanding the New Zealand party system.

3.1.3 The Selection of Policies

As mentioned above, only the enactment of those pledges made on policy issues in printed manifesto/plan/policy documents were investigated. This decision was taken after the identification of all election pledges contained in the two main parties' pre-government election programmes. Given the number of pledges and the amount of effort involved in determining the enactment of each policy proposal, the available resources allowed the investigation of government actions in relation to only a 10% representative sample of these. The broad policy areas consist of: agriculture, arts & culture, biculturalism, broadcasting & communications, commerce, community, constitutional, consumer affairs, defence, disabled persons, earthquake & war damage, economy, education & tertiary bursaries, employment, energy resources, enterprise, environmental & conservation, finance & taxation, fisheries & fishing industry, foreign investment, forestry, general, health, horticulture, housing, human rights, immigration, importing, industrial development & relations, internal affairs, international affairs & relations, justice, lands acquisition, law & order, local government, manufacturing, Māori affairs & development, mining, national development, news media, open government & electoral law, overseas trade & marketing, Pacific Island & ethnic affairs, personal security & opportunity, police & crime prevention, post office, prices & rents, railways, recreation & sport, regional development, roading, science research & technology, shipping & containerisation, small business, social security monetary benefits, social services & welfare, state services, superannuation & retirement income, tourism & visitor, transport & civil aviation, women's, works & development and youth. The 779 tested pledges fall for the most part under the policy jurisdictions of seven of the 35 public service departments. Of course, this means that a limited number of policy areas have received most of the attention in election programmes and will likewise be the focus of the analysis. The main departmental policy areas were agriculture & forestry,

economic development, education, foreign affairs & trade, health, labour and social development.⁷

An important reason for not simply selecting the seven broad policy domains outlined above which both main parties devote a considerable amount of attention to in their election programmes, is that there yet remain electorally salient policies in other areas which, while not the focus of so much promise-making, could be a major factor in voter's decision-making processes. However, as Table 3.4 shows, on average half of the election pledges found in each election programme referred to the seven dominant areas. Of the total of 7,788 pledges found in the eleven election programmes, 4,080 (52%) referred to these issues. These domains consist of three issues that neither of the parties chose to avoid in any of their election-winning manifestos; education, health and labour.

Table 3.4 Percentages of Total Pledges in Each Election Programme in the Seven Core Departmental Policy Areas (Total in election programme)

Year	Labour	National
1972	50% (453)	
1975		55% (792)
1978		54% (684)
1981		60% (190)
1984	49% (875)	
1987	38% (427)	
1990		69% (157)
1993		62% (88)
1996		66% (52)
1999	77% (288)	
2002	67% (74)	

⁷ There is, of course, a degree of overlap between some of the policy areas. The criterion used to decide where to include such borderline issues was whether or not the issue fell under the policy jurisdiction of the ministerial department responsible for that policy area. For example, policies designed to improve the employment opportunities available to Pacific Islanders were included in the total for the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. Such government actions are part of the government's 'Pacific Islands policy', which as a whole is coordinated by the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. However, these particular government actions may also fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labour, which is responsible for some of the main employment policy areas assessed in this study.

3.1.4 The Selection of the Eleven Governments, 1972-2005

The selection of this time period means that this study includes four different configurations of government. Between 1972-1975 and 1984-1990, there was a single-party Labour government. Following both of these governments, between 1975-1984 and 1990-1996, the single governing party changed to National (although National did lose its absolute majority due to factionalisation during the 1993-6 term). After the 1996 election, with a change in the electoral system, coalition governments were introduced as the norm, consisting firstly from 1996-1999 of a National-led coalition government and then subsequently from 1999-2005, Labour-led coalitions. It is possible that there is a positive relationship between incumbency and the strength of the party programme to policy link. The selection of this time period means that there is a considerable amount of variation in the government experience held by the governing parties under investigation. The National Party has enjoyed twice as much incumbency during the period of study as Labour. The Labour governments of 1984-90 and 1999-2005 followed triple-term National governments. National, by contrast, entered office for the third time in 1975 after a period of only three years in opposition and then again in 1990 after six years opposition. This means that Labour has had less experience of being in office than National, but only by three years over the study period.

It was noted in Chapter 2 (section 2.2) that socio-economic factors may influence the level of congruence between parties' policy proposals and subsequent government actions. Table 3.5 shows that the selected time period also contains variation in socio-economic indicators that measure the health of the economy. The 1993-2005 governments enjoyed a relatively favourable economic situation, in comparison with previous years and other Oceanic countries. Economic growth was at a high, the number of employed persons rose, meaning that there were relatively fewer welfare recipients and the budget deficit was reduced successfully.

Table 3.5 Socio-economic Indicators

Years	Economic Growth	Unemployment	Economic Inactivity	Inflation	Budget/Operating Deficit/Surplus
1972-1975	4.5	.3	130.7	9.5	-2.6
1975-1978	.8	.7	130.7	14.6	-5.3
1978-1981	.3	2.2	128.0	14.7	-6.2
1981-1984	2.3	4.1	127.3	11.8	-7.4
1984-1987	2.6	4.5	127.2	12.0	-5.9
1987-1990	.8	5.4	127.3	9.6	1.0
1990-1993	.1	9.1	134.6	3.4	.9
1993-1996	4.2	8.3	131.1	2.1	1.6
1996-1999	2.1	6.6	123.2	1.3	2.5
1999-2002	2.9	6.3	107.6	1.8	1.6
2002-2005	3.8	4.7	102.9	2.8	3.7

Sources: (Dalziel and Lattimore, 2004; Key Statistics, 2000-6; New Zealand Official Yearbooks, 1972-2004; Statistics New Zealand Website, www.stats.govt.nz – 23/5/2006). All figures are averages for the period indicated. Economic Growth: Annual percentage change in Gross Domestic Product; Unemployment: Percentage of labour force; Economic Inactivity: Number of economically inactive individuals for every 100 economically active individuals; Inflation: Consumer price index; Budget/Operating Deficit/Surplus as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product.

In addition to the factors discussed earlier, it is noteworthy that the selected time period also contains some variation in the duration of terms of government. While all were approximately three years, the 1981-4 National government and the 1999-2002 Labour-led government were several months shorter than normal. The termination of the latter government was precipitated by a disagreement between members of the parliamentary Alliance Party over a range of foreign affairs and trade policies. This means that there was less available time, in which government actions could be taken to carry out the governing parties' manifesto proposals and any commitments made in coalition agreements.

This study is not primarily designed to test the effects of government experience, economic factors or government duration on the enactment of election pledges. Nevertheless, variation in these factors means that the selected cases provide a variety of contexts in which the link between election programmes and subsequent government policies can be examined. Investigating the hypothesised relationships in the widest possible variety of contexts increases the generalisability of the findings.

3.2 THE MEASUREMENT OF CONCEPTS

This section describes the operationalisation of the concepts referred to in the hypotheses that were formulated in Chapter One. In Chapter Two, it became clear that the pledge approach to the study of the party mandate consists of a particular method of investigating parties' electoral appeals: one that is quite distinct from the method used in the saliency approach. Nevertheless, even within the pledge approach, different operationalisations of the concept of an election pledge are possible. It is for this reason that this section begins by stating the operational definition of an election pledge adopted in this study and the main differences between this operationalisation and others (section 3.2.1). It will be shown that the measurement of election pledges used here is a reliable one. The method used to identify the enactment of election pledges is also presented in section 3.2.1. Subsequently, in section 3.2.2, the measurements of the explanatory variables referred to in the hypotheses are described.

3.2.1 Measuring Election Pledges and their Enactment

In this discussion of the identification of election pledges, the operational definition used in the present research is introduced. In short, statements in the election programmes were categorised as pledges if they contained *unequivocal support for proposed government policy actions by using the word 'will' in the sentence*. It is argued that the requirement for the commitment to be a 'will' statement ensures that it is a clear promise to act in a certain way. The methodological issues associated with the measurement of the enactment of pledges are discussed at the end of this section.

The first part of the above definition, 'unequivocal support', refers to the 'hardness' of the statement. The pledges in the present study only include 'hard pledges', that are synonymous with promises or guarantees and not 'soft pledges', which contain parties' intentions or expressed preferences. Soft pledges contain wording such as 'we must...', 'we should...' or 'we strive towards...'. The exclusion of soft pledges from this study means that the non-enactment of a pledge in this study means the renegation on a firm commitment (Rallings 1987, p.4). There were three main reasons for not including soft statements in the analysis. The first is that, while at a general level, the programme to policy linkage is concerned with the congruence between the policy content of parties' electoral appeals and subsequent government

policies, without an actual unequivocal commitment to act, a pledge or promise does not exist. In principle, therefore, only statements in which parties clearly commit themselves to specific policies they support are of interest. It would be unfair to include all statements contained in manifestos that intimated a parties' ambitions or desires that did not include a promise to act or bring about a particular result. Consider, for example, the statement, 'Labour's objective is to get New Zealand back into the top half of the OECD living standards.' Surely, the government cannot be considered dishonourable should this not occur during their term of office because there was not in fact any commitment to ensure it would. The second reason for not including such soft statements was that 'hard pledges' were found to be so common in most of the election programmes of the two main parties, that they provide more than enough material to adequately analyse the policy to implementation linkage. Indeed, even the most promise-sparse manifesto contained at least three pledges per page and the most densely pledged documents contained 22 per page indicating that the tested manifestos contain significant content in the form of firm promises or guarantees that the supported policy proposals would be acted upon. Furthermore, the hardness of the wording appears to be fairly consistent and more than simply a decision that manifesto writers take on the basis of editorial grounds. To exclude soft statements from the analysis would therefore be justifiable. Another reason for excluding soft statements was that it was thought that the hardness of the statement might prove to be an indication of the saliency that the party attached to the proposal. In particular, hard pledges may be more salient to parties than soft pledges and indeed, be more persuasive to voters than less readily assessable pledges made in language that is more ambiguous.

The decision to exclude soft pledges means that the operational definition used here differs from that of Thomson (1999) and Mansergh (2003), but is more consistent with that of Rallings (1987), Rose (1980), Royed (1992, 1996) and Kalogeropoulou (1993). A reading of the British manifestos examined by Royed reveals that the policy proposals supported in these programmes are referred to using the harder language characteristic of that used in New Zealand manifestos.⁸ This similarity in the use of language is explicable: manifesto writers in systems where single party government is the norm, expect that, if elected, a large proportion of their

⁸ A section of each of the four British manifestos included in Royed's study was examined by Thomson for the presence of hard and soft pledges. A total of 27 densely printed pages of these manifestos were analysed. A total of 71 pledges were found in these pages, 66 of which were hard.

proposals will be acted upon. One of the consequences of this expectation is that party manifestos in such systems offer promises or guarantees that their proposals will be carried out. When parties have to govern with coalition partners, manifesto writers are aware that many of their election pledges will remain proposals. As a result, they tend to phrase their policy proposals as expressed preferences, rather than promises. This difference in the use of language has begun to emerge in New Zealand since the advent of proportional representation, but for the most part, the major parties' manifestos have still contained large numbers of 'hard' pledges during the MMP era and this means that the inclusion of 'soft' pledges in this study would not change the results substantially. Therefore, because the number of hard pledges was so significant, a decision was made to only include these and not to identify or categorise soft pledges. This leaves the hard pledges made by New Zealand parties to be isolated and compared with hard pledges made by parties in other countries.

The second part of the operational definition stipulates that pledges are determined to be hard only if they contain the word 'will'. This makes the specific definition of a hard pledge slightly different from previous studies. The reason for this is that it makes the coding of pledges 100% reliable because it is indisputable whether a manifesto sentence includes the word 'will' or not. Such a built in reliability was necessary as there were not sufficient resources to employ other coders to test a more subjective definition process such as that employed by Royed and Thomson. This means that the level of subjectivity is eliminated at the coding end of the process, but it is more prevalent at the analysis end than was the case in the other studies. However, most promises following this format could still be largely considered 'hard' pledges by the Royed definition while a few would not have been included had the same definition been employed here. Royed required pledges to contain 'proposed government policy actions or outcomes that are testable'. This refers to the 'specificity' of the statements. Like the definitions employed by most other studies in the pledge approach, this clause demands that pledges describe the proposed policy in such a way that a result is provided, on the basis of which the enactment of the pledge can be judged. These results consist of the passing of particular legislation, executive orders, allocation of resources or some readily identifiable consequence. In other words, the criteria or outcome required to judge the enactment of pledges are in principle provided by the writers of election programmes, not by the political scientist. In order to overcome the element of subjectivity introduced by including direct 'will' statements without inclusive specific stipulated measurement criteria, a

range of sources were consulted for more ambiguous commitments creating a clearer common interpretation of generally accepted performance requirements to achieve fulfilment.

An important distinction between the definition employed here and that used by Thomson's study is that it includes both policy actions and so called 'outcome pledges'. This means that, for example, promises to 'cut inflation' or to 'reduce unemployment by 10,000' are included. This is because the congruence between promised outcomes and actual outcomes is of material interest to the empirical evaluation of parties' electoral appeals. Indeed, this type of congruence has at least as much influence on popular support for parties as the enactment of their policy commitments. It is also true that policy actions are but means to larger ends, such as the reduction of unemployment, the stimulation of economic growth, lower inflation and smaller public deficits. Therefore, the effectiveness of governments' policy actions can be tested by examining the extent to which their intended goals were achieved. However, while the wisdom of government actions is not at stake here (Klingemann et al. 1994, p. 254), their effectiveness, inasmuch as this forms part or all of an election promise, most certainly is. What is being investigated is not only the programme to policy link, but also the outcomes of those policies where these outcomes are clearly pledged by governing parties. In addition, this research also endeavours to explain variation in the enactment of election pledges. A brief consideration of the likely reasons for such variation illustrates that while there is an important qualitative distinction between promises of action and promises of particular outcomes, this distinction is unlikely to be considered by most voters who see a promise as a promise whether it is action or outcome focussed. For example, the fulfilment of a party's promise to restrict entitlements to welfare benefits for the unemployed is most likely to depend on the amount of political support for this proposal. This will influence the likelihood that the party will be electorally successful, that it will enter office, that its coalition partners, if present, will also be supportive of this measure etc. By contrast, the fulfilment of a promise to reduce unemployment by 10,000 will depend not only on the political will to take effective policy actions, but also on the international economic conjuncture. In short, there are important qualitative distinctions between the support for policy outcomes and actions. The present study is concerned with both the enactment of proposed actions and the achievement of sought after outcomes because even though they are different on one level, on another they are the same. Parties are responsible for deciding what is

within the realm of their ability to achieve and should make promises accordingly. The governing mandate can therefore be said not only to oblige action, but require pledged results. The inclusion of outcome pledges also ensures that there is a greater degree of comparability with studies which included these such as Royed's.

Most of the older studies of pledge fulfilment paid little to no attention to the issue of the reliability of the method of identifying election pledges. Thomson's and Royed's research changed this. They showed that if the method used is described in sufficient detail, election pledges can be identified reliably. Two research assistants each coded one of the election programmes examined in Royed's study. Of the total pledges identified by Royed and each of the assistants, there was an average of 84 per cent agreement (Royed 1996, pp.79-80). The reliability of the similar method used in Thomson's study was also tested. There, an intercoder reliability of 88 per cent, comparable with that identified by Royed, was found (for details of his reliability test see Thomson 1999, pp.231-5). The conclusion of these tests is that the results presented in his study are based on reliable measurements of election pledges, but these are still less reliable than the 100% reliability guaranteed here, making the analytic method at the coding stage in this research very robust. Irrespective of this, the more watertight definition of a pledge used in this thesis was necessitated by the lack of resources necessary to employ the intercoder reliability method.

This more objective method at the pledge selection stage is offset to some extent, however, by the more subjective judgement needed at the assessment of enactment stage which becomes higher than for the Royed and Thomson studies, by including the definition of pledges to all 'will' policy statements, as is done in this study. This means that the election pledges themselves do not always provide some criteria, action, result that can be used to categorise the enactment of the pledges. Therefore, while many may be, for example, the lowering of a particular rate of taxation or the introduction of a certain adjustment to a social welfare programme, others may pledge to help us achieve an innovative, creative and successful country. However, the nature of both the specificity and consistency of New Zealand policy writers' pledge presentation has meant that such subjective promises are not particularly common, even since the advent of MMP. The judgement on the enactment or fulfilment of pledges consists of a search for government decisions, parliamentary legislation, executive orders, statistical data, expert analysis or survey responses – that are congruent or incongruent with the proposals supported in the election pledges.

This search includes, but is not restricted to reading policy reviews of the main developments in various policy areas. These reviews consist of descriptions of public policy in particular areas written by academics and public policy research organisations. Some of the most useful policy reviews are contained in departmental reports, published periodically by government departments. Published parliamentary debates, indexed by subject area, can also be consulted. This general orientation allows the election pledges to be placed in the context of the important policy developments and debates of the day. The enactment of a number of election pledges can be ascertained based on the information contained in these policy reviews alone. After 1987, searches can be carried out using keyword internet searches on the Hansards database and also by confirming or seeking clarification from other reliable human or organisational sources. Newspaper databases such as Factiva, which are regularly updated, are also very helpful. They allow the user to select references to government decisions using key words. Selections can be made based on the key words contained in the election pledges themselves and on the basis of words associated with the main policy themes and developments with which the pledges are associated. If no government actions are found after this extensive search that would constitute at least partial enactment of the pledge in question, an expert in the field with personal knowledge and experience can be approached for a final determination and then the pledge can be classified as 'not enacted' if there is clearly no evidence of this. Departmental employees and former and current cabinet ministers were particularly helpful in this regard.

Unlike the research decision taken by Rose (1980), Royed (1992) and Thomson (1999), the variable 'enactment' was defined as one containing two instead of three categories. These are 'not enacted' and 'enacted'. The researchers mentioned in the previous sentence also used a 'partially enacted' category. The exclusion of a partially enacted category is made necessary by the fact that while some policy action may be taken in the direction indicated by the pledge, but falls short of full realisation of the proposal in question, this does not constitute fulfilment. For example, a proposal to index increases in social welfare benefits to market sector wage increases could not arguably be judged to be enacted if this were budgeted for, but not applied before the following election. While it could be considered a partially enacted pledge, it is still only an intention until it actually happens and therefore remains unfulfilled as the following government may not follow suit and it therefore never happens. Including partially enacted pledges would also introduce another level of subjectivity

into the analysis because the question can be asked; “How little government action would qualify as partial enactment?” If the answer to this only requires minimal action, the governments efforts are flatteringly expanded to appear increasingly significant. It could be contended that conversely, not including partial enactment requires too much of government, but it should be stated that partial enactment is generally seldom promised when support for particular policy actions are pledged, although where it is, that is all that is required.⁹

3.2.2 Related Variable

The Coalition Agreement

In Thomson’s (1999) study of The Netherlands, he incorporated the use of government agreements in his analysis. Because The Netherlands is an established proportional system, there is a great deal of consistency in the process of coalition-forming and agreement-making behaviour. There are also substantial amounts of detail in the coalition government agreements that enable analysis to be carried out on them in much the same way as one would when analysing the content and implementation of manifesto commitments.

However, in New Zealand, the coalition agreements of 1996, 1999 and 2002 were vastly different in size, detail and specificity. After the lengthy negotiations of the first MMP government were completed, a 15-part agreement with two additional schedules, one relating to policy and the other to expenditure, was signed. It could have served as a manifesto had it have been issued before the election; such was the detail that it contained. On the other hand, subsequent Labour-led coalitions have opted for very brief and general agreements, which are followed up by a speech from the throne that provides some of the detail in terms of policy. From an analytical perspective, this makes consistency in assessment of government policy on the basis of coalition agreements very difficult in New Zealand because the method of presenting coalition government policy has differed. For this reason, coupled with the underlying premise of this thesis that major parties in government since MMP are less able to implement manifesto policy, coalition agreements and speeches from the

⁹ Note that although this discussion is phrased in terms of pledges containing support for particular policy actions, it applies equally to pledges to maintain the status quo. The terms ‘enactment’ and ‘fulfilment’ are used interchangeably because this study is concerned with the correspondence between pledges and government actions, as well as ‘fulfilment’ of pledges to bring about particular outcomes.

throne will be used as supplementary material with which a determination of the likelihood of the fulfilment of manifesto policy can be made.

3.3 ANALYTIC METHOD

The empirical phenomena that are the focus of this research, election pledges and their enactment, are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The qualitative analysis is concerned with the substance of the policy proposals and related government actions, if any. Chapters 4-8 include descriptions of the election pledges and evidence of their fulfilment. In addition, an attempt is made to place the policy pledges in the context of the societal problems they are designed to tackle. There are two reasons why a qualitative analysis forms an essential part of this investigation. First of all, a qualitative consideration of the election pledges is necessary in order to evaluate the empirical tenability of the claim that pledges are confined to policy issues or actions that are societally trivial. It may be proven quantitatively that parties make relatively more pledges within policy themes that they present as being important. Nevertheless, it could still be the case that the specific policy initiatives within these themes are trivial. Chapters 4-8 attempt to place the pledges in the context of what are generally perceived to be the main developments in the government terms investigated and then in their particular policy areas. Second, the qualitative analysis provides hundreds of concrete examples of the application of the hypotheses generally, thus offering insight into the substance of the figures used alongside in the quantitative analyses.

The data on election pledges were first collected and organised on the basis of separate election programmes. Eleven separate data sets, one for each manifesto, were constructed in order to represent the information on the election pledges identified in each of the manifestos. The cases in each of these eleven data sets are the election pledges found in the manifesto concerned. The presentation of these pledges in the thesis enables the reader to make a comparison, if desired, between the proportion of election pledges in each of the programmes that were related in some way to those found in other manifestos or the correspondence between thematic emphases and the distribution of pledges within each manifesto, thus providing the opportunity for a general evaluation of some of the expectations discussed (Thomson 1999, pp.67-100). In other words, the hypotheses and questions posed herein are not designed to apply

specifically to pledges made, for example, by the Labour Party in 1987 or those made by the National Party in 1990, but should have general application and a presentation of the base pledges and evidence of their fulfilment provides the reader with the option of either seeing this for themselves or relying on the author's assessment.

In order to test the four hypotheses, the following analytic methods were employed. The first hypothesis requires the coding of the manifestos to determine the actual number of direct 'will' statements they contain. These are then separated into two groups. One group being those commitments in socio-economic policy areas and those that are not. These are then compared so that the relationship between manifesto size and the proportional focus on socio-economic policy can be determined. The second hypothesis requires the representative selection of a sample of 10% of the planks in each manifesto. This was done by numbering all of the qualifying statements from the first to the last in each manifesto. Then, a ten-sided die was tossed at an intervening surface in order to determine which of the first ten planks would be selected as the first to be analysed. The number one was thrown making the first plank in the manifesto also the first plank in the analysis. Thereafter, every tenth plank was included in the sample. This was repeated for each of the ten subsequent manifestos. Once the percentage of planks fulfilled was determined, a comparison was made between terms of government in order to ascertain whether fulfilment increased with incumbency. The third hypothesis then compared pre-MMP terms to post-MMP terms to determine whether implementation was higher before or after the change in the electoral system. The final hypothesis was tested by looking at party vote share election data and comparing that to the previously determined levels of policy implementation to assess the relationship that existed between these results.

Given the centrality to this research of a determination of pledge fulfilment, it is necessary to detail the specific method of analysis employed to assess this. While this has been covered to some extent earlier in the chapter, a closer explication of the system used for this purpose follows. The pledge is selected using the process that has already been outlined. The pledge is then assessed as being general or specific. A pledge is considered to be general if determining its fulfilment requires basically a subjective assessment (e.g. *'Our priorities are to build strong links to key overseas markets, scientific partners, investors, and individuals that will help us achieve an innovative, creative and successful country'*). This pledge is considered to be a general pledge because assessing whether the government's policies have helped New Zealand to achieve an innovative, creative and successful country requires a degree of

subjectivity. On the other hand, a pledge is considered to be specific if determining its fulfilment requires basically an objective assessment. Specific pledges were divided into two groups – action and outcome pledges. Specific action pledges are considered to be pledges in which a specific action is pledged (e.g. *‘To ensure our tertiary education is world-class and meets our needs we will raise funding for the Performance-Based Research Fund to \$20 million a year by 2006’*). This pledge is considered to be a specific action pledge because the pledge is both objective (i.e. either the funding was increased to this level by the specified year or it was not) and it is action-focused (i.e. the government must increase funding which is a specific action). Specific outcome pledges are considered to be pledges in which a specific outcome is pledged (e.g. *‘Labour will improve participation and achievement rates of Maori’*). This pledge is considered to be a specific outcome pledge because the pledge is both objective (i.e. either Maori participation and achievement rates improved under Labour or they did not) and it is outcome-focused (i.e. the percentage of Maori on school rolls needed to increase as did Maori achieving high school qualifications in order for this to be fulfilled, but this is not a direct government action, rather it would be the result of a range of related policies that would create the environment in which this would occur). As would be expected, the general pledges are the most difficult to determine and require the most work to assess. This is because a range of sources must be consulted, both partisan, opposition, primary departmental reports, secondary scholarly analyses and popular media reports in order to get a broad picture of the safest side to let the pen fall. Effectively, it becomes a decision based on the balance of evidence and settling with the answer which is most easily defensible should this ever be questioned because both sides have been considered and one has been found wanting or found wanting more than the other. Specific action pledges are the easiest to determine. The required action is outlined in the pledge and clear evidence for this will generally be found in departmental reports, budgets, legislation, regulations or parliamentary debates. These are the largest group of pledges. Specific outcome pledges require similar sourcing to those listed already, but also utilise statistical information from censi, household and labour force surveys and other government statistics from a range of departments in order to assess whether the promised outcomes have been achieved. This makes them a little more difficult to assess, but the results are still largely objective as the outcomes are pledge-specific. While a large range of sources have been used to determine the the fulfilment of all three kinds of pledges, usually only one or two are mentioned in association with each

presentation in the interests of space. It should be noted that where partisan sources are used to support the government, these will have been supported elsewhere during the research phase. Partisan sources that are considered to be self-critical are generally considered to be accurate in most cases as is opposition support for government fulfilment. It would be considered most unlikely for the government to suggest it had not fulfilled promises that it had, just as it would be considered most unlike the opposition to credit the government without due credit being deserved. With these rules of analysis in mind, the following chapters present the results of applying this methodology to government party election manifesto policy in New Zealand from 1972 to 2005.

CHAPTER FOUR: THIRD LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1972-5

As the first government to be analysed in this study, “the Third Labour Government was elected in November, 1972, with a massive majority – the clearest mandate for a new government since 1935” (Kirk in New Zealand Labour Party 1974, p.1). Kirk (Prime Minister) claimed that this represented a full endorsement by the people for the programme contained in Labour’s manifesto. A document that Kirk himself clearly held in high regard as is illustrated by Michael Bassett, who says; “I well recall him (Kirk) thumping the red policy book with his huge meaty hands and equally huge enthusiasm, telling everyone, voters and civil servants alike, that ‘it’s all in here!’” (pers. com. 26/7/06). Indeed, there was much in ‘there’. In total, 902 pledges in only 50 pages representing an average of more than 18 promises per page. This chapter will present an analysis of a representative sample of 10% of those policies, 91 in all.

4.1 FOREWORD

The foreword itself contained two planks, the first of which was assessed. With reference to the overall policy, the manifesto asserted:

“It will be implemented speedily and as rising G.N.P. and increasing real wealth makes possible.” (1)

The 1972 Election Manifesto was not implemented in its entirety. However, this pledge was conditioned upon rising G.N.P. and real wealth which were seriously affected by the oil crisis of 1974 and the U.K.’s entrance into the E.E.C. This did not make complete fulfilment possible, thereby releasing Labour from the requirement to implement every pledge in the manifesto. However, it does appear that early in the term of government, when G.N.P. and real wealth were growing strongly, that Labour had begun implementing their policies speedily. This was such a widely held belief that even the leader of the opposition National Party, Robert Muldoon, agreed that;

“Had they not tried to do everything in their first year but rather approach the situation with much more of a steady does it approach...” (Muldoon 1975, p.27), other problems would not have arisen. There is a clear implication here by Muldoon that Labour had indeed implemented speedily as made possible. This policy was therefore coded as fulfilled.

4.2 AGRICULTURE

A reasonably comprehensive agricultural policy featured in the Manifesto with 54 platforms in ten sub-policy areas. One of these related to a scheme involving ‘Farm Ownership Investment Accounts’. According to Labour, these would be special accounts established with the Rural Banking and Finance Corporation (RBFC) in which farm workers could deposit a proportion of their gross income to be put towards the purchase of their own farm, earn at least 3% interest and be eligible for RBFC loans when they had saved a certain minimum amount. Labour boasted also that:

“This scheme will provide that such deposits shall be a deductible item for taxation purposes.” (3)

However, by 1974, it had become evident that; “Those deposits in farm ownership savings accounts will not be tax free as was promised” (Birch in NZPD Vol.392 1974, p.3267). The lack of defence from members of the Labour caucus at this allegation suggests that this promise was unfulfilled and it is consequently coded as such.

Another major sub-policy area related to ‘Special Assistance to Farmers’. A range of pledges were made in this area regarding charges, diversification and mortgages. The final promise in this field claimed that:

“Other financial arrangements to assist in stabilising cost will also be introduced.” (3)

There were indeed a range of measures introduced to meet this obligation including “increased fertiliser subsidies, abolition of meat inspection fees, and waiving of

interest...on...loans” (Hunt 1975, p.51). These forms of assistance did help to stabilise farm costs and the policy is coded as fulfilled.

‘Farm Settlement’ was another important agricultural plank. Labour was to establish a farm settlement scheme in conjunction with a farm training scheme to get landless farmers onto their own units of land. Labour had decided that one of the:

“Key features of the scheme will be allocation of the units by ballot to applicants who qualify under the farm training scheme.” (4)

This promise was fulfilled when the government declared that; “Landless New Zealanders over 24 years old who have training will be eligible for land settlement ballots” (Hunt 1975, p.52).

As was just mentioned, ‘Farm Training’ formed another important aspect of agricultural policy. In order to make the settlement opportunities as egalitarian and expansive as possible, Labour promised:

“To ensure maximum opportunity to qualify for land ballots under Labour’s farm settlement scheme a nation-wide farm training system will be established and will involve certificates awarded on the completion of a six-year training period.” (4)

The result was actually a “five-year training scheme culminating in a Trade Certification Board advanced trade certificate in farm management” (Hunt 1975, p.51). This promise was coded as fulfilled even though the period was shortened to five years as it seemed pedantic to negate the implementation of this policy on the basis of such a small divergence from the policy in terms of time when the certificate appeared to be the central aspect of importance in relation to the particular pledge.

Finally, ‘Irrigation’ rounded out the range of agricultural policies. Labour accepted the initial capital costs of large-scale off-farm irrigation schemes because they believed this was the key to increased primary productivity, but forewarned that:

“The present method of a water charge will apply as far as off-farm costs are concerned – to be phased in as production increases.” (4)

This plank was coded as fulfilled because according to the Public Works Amendment Act 1975, water charges for the development period were staggered over a six-season period. There was no charge associated with the first two seasons after completion of the project and it then increased by 20% each season until the full charge applied (NZS 1975 Vol.2, p.1296). The rationale was that the increased water supply would have a lag effect on production, but as it increased, so the farmer would be gradually better placed to pay for the use of it. Overall, then, it appears that the Third Labour Government fulfilled 80% of their agricultural policies.

4.3 ARTS AND CULTURE

Constituting only seven platforms, Labour's art and culture policy area was reasonably small. The representative from this group was:

"Recognising the contribution made to our cultural life by New Zealand authors, the Labour Government will establish a fund for the payment of a public lending right." (5)

Government funding for the arts was targeted towards New Zealand authors and Hunt states that; "The establishment of the New Zealand Authors' Fund is the fulfilment of a pledge made to recognise the contribution made by our authors ...\$150,000 was provided for 1974-75" (1975, p.5). This platform was coded as fulfilled.

4.4 BROADCASTING

During the term of the Third Labour Government, significant changes were made to the structure of broadcasting in New Zealand under the direction of Roger Douglas. Much of this was not precipitated by the 17 manifesto commitments in this policy area. On the other hand, some pledges that were made, do not seem to have come to fruition. One such is the representative from this policy area which related to the establishment of regional broadcasting councils and had it that:

“These councils will be charged with providing adequate local content and with determining leasing arrangements for a designated viewing period.” (6)

Patrick Day, the author of ‘Voice and Vision: A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand’ has stated that “the regional councils never eventuated” (pers. com. 16/6/06). This assessment has been supported by the opinions of both the Minister of Broadcasting for the Third Labour Government, Roger Douglas, who claims to have no recollection of these councils (pers. com. 19/6/06) and Fran McGowan, researcher for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (pers. com. 19/6/06). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

4.5 CONSTITUTIONAL

Equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities were the philosophies leading Labour’s constitutional policy area with 21 promises in total and three represented here. Initially, Labour stated:

“We will ensure that all groups of our multi-cultural, multi-racial society are encouraged to go forward together.” (7)

As Sir Denis Blundell, then Governor-General of New Zealand gave the speech to open parliament in 1973, he insisted that with the Labour Government, “all doctrines of racial superiority and of discrimination are rejected ... it is the Government’s particular concern that the Maori and Pacific island people should benefit to the full from the facilities provided for their advancement” (NZPD Vol.382 1973, pp.6&9). This is judged to be an indication of the encouragement for cultural and racial progress envisaged. This policy is coded as fulfilled.

Another area of concern involved the workings of parliament. These were judged by Labour in opposition to be less effective than they could and should have been, notwithstanding the fact that the previous National Government had reviewed some parliamentary processes. Labour promised that:

“There will be a further review of Standing Orders of Parliament to secure more efficiency in the conduct of the business of Parliament and an

enlightened approach to the way in which members are expected to take part in the affairs of Parliament.” (7)

Just to list a few of the changes Labour made indicate that this promise was fulfilled:

- 1) Parliament began much earlier in the year than previously;
- 2) 1974 saw a record number of sitting days (118);
- 3) 149 Public Bills were passed, 35 before select committees in 1974, also a record;
- 4) These occurred notwithstanding the fact that Friday sitting hours were decreased;
- 5) Parliamentary Under-Secretaries could reply to Questions on behalf of Ministers;
- 6) Bills not passed in one session could be held over to the next;
- 7) Time for oral questions was increased by 10 minutes;
- 8) Questions not reached on Fridays were to be answered in writing that day (Hunt 1975, p.6)

Keeping individual's information private was the final constitutional area assessed by this study. However, Labour failed to honour this plank. It stated that:

“Specific legislation will be introduced to safeguard the individual's right in so far as they may be affected by the use of computer-based files.” (7)

In 1975, Hunt stated that “a Bill dealing with aspects of privacy will be introduced during this years session” (p.6). This was not legislation, nor did it deal with computer-based files. It focussed mainly on listening devices. The following year, the National Government passed legislation specifically about information kept on the Wanganui Computer. Even if this legislation could be considered to fulfil the plank in principle, it was not passed by Labour and this was therefore coded as unfulfilled. Overall, then, two-thirds of Labour's constitutional planks are judged as having been fulfilled.

4.6 DEFENCE

Like the constitutional area, defence contained more than 20 platforms (25), with two being assessed. These came from two distinctive sub-policy areas out of a total of eight. The first related to ‘Defence Forces’ and stipulated that:

“The Territorial defence forces will be organised (and) fully integrated into the national defence system.” (8)

By 1975, territorial units were “integrated into the overall capabilities of the armed forces” (Hunt, p. 24), thus fulfilling this platform.

Moving on to the other area, ‘Civilian Re-establishment’ Labour made it clear that:

“Steps will be taken to give proper recognition to trades and skills learned in the Services.” (8)

By 1975, steps had “been taken to give proper recognition of trades and skills learned in the services” (Hunt, p.24). This included the establishment of an advisory committee on civil trades qualifications during the first year of the government. This pledge was coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the defence pledges are coded as fulfilled.

4.7 EDUCATION

Neither “an unqualified success, nor as unproductive as some critics have alleged” (Gustafson 1975, p.71), Labour’s performance in education was mixed, but on balance, there was more implementation than not. There were 64 policies and seven were analysed. All of these fell into one of the five sub-policy areas. The first sub-policy area was ‘Early Childhood Education’. This was substantially developed under Labour. This was not accomplished solely by the Government, Labour’s policy was that:

“Development will be encouraged in full co-operation with voluntary organisations.” (9)

According to Hunt, by 1975 there had “been numerous measures extending pre-school services and supporting local voluntary organisations” (p.15). These included the establishment of ten district pre-school committees which were set up to co-ordinate development at the local level. Gustafson also asserts that “Labour is on

strong ground in defending its performance in regard to fulfilling its promises on pre-school education” (1975, p.65). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The second sub-policy area was ‘Child-care Centres’. On this, Labour promised that:

“When establishing day-care centres, special consideration will be given to easy accessibility by parents during the working day.” (9)

Hunt said that the Education “Department is involved in establishing centres where they are most needed for the children of working parents” (1975, p.15). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third sub-policy area was ‘The School System’. Philosophically, Labour had committed itself to a major overhaul of the school system and this was consequently what nearly all educational pressure-groups expected, however, this was one of the few areas overall in which the Government failed to perform satisfactorily. The first plank analysed in this area attempted to address some of the issues facing rural education and stated that:

“Labour will also make a concentrated drive to bring all country schools up to standard by providing incentives for staff and improving equipment and buildings.” (10)

Parliamentary debates from 1974 make it clear that the government had failed to implement such incentives. Derek Quigley prosecuted the government by noting that “the provision of realistic locality allowances and/or salary differentials for rural teachers as an effective incentive is required” (NZPD Vol.389 1974, p.21) in order for Labour to meet the requirements of that particular manifesto plank. It was coded as unfulfilled.

Quite clearly, others (see below) were also unimpressed with Labour’s performance on issues facing the school system. Another platform in this area, which criticised the prevailing structure at the time of the election, stated that:

“The present primary, intermediate and secondary systems will be developed to become an educational continuum with children moving from one

administrative structure to another rather than moving from one style of education to another.” (10)

In November of 1974, an Advisory Council of Educational Planning presented its report to the Government. Among its many recommendations was a suggestion, which largely mirrored the above platform, calling for greater co-ordination of primary and secondary education. However, according to Gustafson, Sir Frank Holmes, who chaired the Educational Development Conference, which preceded the report, told the Evening Post on April 5th 1975 that the report, along with its recommendations, had “been quietly interred” (1975, p.71). This platform is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth sub-policy area was “Independent Schools’. Reducing class sizes and improving conditions for teachers were seen by Labour to be the most important problems facing schools, whether independent or state. To this end, Labour was willing to provide assistance to certain independent schools in order to improve conditions in these areas. However, the Manifesto pledged that:

“Only those schools which have comparable standards, facilities, conditions of service and teachers’ salaries or who are below State schools in these provisions and will move to upgrade them to match those in State schools, will be entitled to receive this assistance.” (10)

In October of 1974, Phil Amos (Minister of Education), reported that “independent schools which have comparable standards or which are below State schools receive a grant for teachers’ salaries at the rate of 32½ percent of the State salary cost per pupil” (NZPD Vol.395 1974, p.5051). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The final sub-policy area was ‘Continuing Education’. Somewhere near a third of all Education policies fell into this sub-policy area. Labour said that they would introduce a standard bursary system for all continuing education students and that:

“The special needs of married students will be recognised.” (11)

Hunt tells us “principles on which a standard bursary could be based, including the needs of married students, have been evolved” (1975, p.18). This indicates that the needs of married students were certainly recognised. This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The last promise to be analysed in the education area related to the continuing education of the workforce and stated that:

“Attention will be given to the imaginative development of training and retraining of the work-force, especially in areas of redundancy and where changing patterns of production demand a change or upgrading of skills.”
(11)

“The 1974 budget provided incentives for soundly based and properly supervised training schemes” (Hunt 1975, p.18) which indicated that attention had been given to their imaginative development. This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, five-sevenths of the education promises are coded as fulfilled.

4.8 ENVIRONMENTAL

Under the environmental banner fell 34 planks in six sub-policy areas. The biggest of these was ‘Land’. The first plank in this area stated that:

“Labour will preserve the integrity of the country’s National Parks in the nation’s interest.” (12)

Hunt claims that under the 3rd Labour Government, “staff numbers and visitors’ facilities increased for National Parks” (1975, p.54). This indicated a clear willingness to preserve their integrity. This plank is coded as fulfilled.

Also under this heading was the second analysed environmental platform. This very boldly claimed that:

“Labour will ensure that renewable natural resources are subjected to ecologically sound and sustained-yield management, so that use of the resource does not cause major ecological disturbance and does not exhaust stocks, thus denying future generations’ use of it.” (12)

Buhrs and Bartlett, however, suggest that this idea did not become legally enforceable until after the demise of the Fourth Labour Government. Indeed, they suggest that it

was “with the introduction of the Resource Management Act in 1991, [that] the sustainable use of resources has become entrenched in law” (1993, p.53). This platform is coded as unfulfilled.

With ‘Recreation and Sport’ being the second largest sub-policy area, this is where the last assessed pledge in the environmental area is found. Labour pledged to establish a Ministry of Recreation and Sport. With four other responsibilities, Labour stated that:

“The Ministry’s functions will include co-ordination of activity under the policy of Social Welfare, and Arts and Culture.” (13)

The Recreation and Sport Act 1973 makes it clear that one of the Ministries legislated functions requires it to “have regard to the general policy of the Government in respect of recreation and sport” (NZS 1973 Vol.1, p.594). The Government’s general election policy covers the areas of social welfare and arts and culture and so the passage of this legislation commits the new Ministry of Recreation and Sport to this activity co-ordination. This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the environmental pledges are coded as fulfilled.

4.9 FINANCE AND TAXATION

With 85 policies, this was the biggest policy area in Labour’s 1972 Election Manifesto. It included five major sub-policy areas, two of which included secondary-level sub-policy areas. Four of the sub-policy areas contained policies from the group of nine that were analysed. The first two are found in the introduction and the first one states that:

“In the present circumstances Labour will use the creation of credit through the reserve bank to stimulate growth and speed up recovery from the recessions that have been a feature of the last five years.” (14)

In the ‘Economic Affairs’ section of ‘Labour Leads’, Hunt asserts that “the Reserve Bank is releasing 5 percent interest bearing funds [which] fulfils the commitment [for the] creation of credit” (1975, p.7-8). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The other introductory promise to be assessed stipulated that:

“Those on lower incomes and all who contribute materially to the advancement of the economy will directly benefit.” (14)

Economist, Bryan Philpott, has said “the important result, which represents an honouring of one of the Government’s manifesto promises, is the substantial increase in real wages” (1975, p.40). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

There were no policies analysed from the smaller ‘Credit Policy Details’ sub-policy area, but there were four from the third sub-policy area, ‘Savings, Borrowing, Credit and Investment’. The first of these planks stated that:

“The private sector will receive consideration in obtaining a share of the funds available for investment.” (14-5)

Once again, according to Philpott this appears to have occurred as “investment spending, both private and public, rose faster than in the past” (1975, p.42). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second platform in this sub-policy area related to the reduction of interest rates on loans. Accordingly, said Labour:

“As a step in this direction, established banks will be permitted to extend activities in the field of personal loans.” (15)

In line with this, “the personal loans scheme started in April, 1973, with interest rates ranging from just over 5 per cent to just over 6 per cent” (Hunt 1975, p.7). By 1975, over 12,500 personal loans worth more than \$7 million were on record with the Post Office Savings Bank alone. This increase in the number and value of personal loans indicates a real extension of loan activity. This platform is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge in this sub-policy area stated that:

“Overseas capital, preferably in the form of debentures, will be sought for selected industrial development.” (15)

In 1975, Hunt confirmed that the Development Finance Corporation (DFC) was undertaking a borrowing programme for selected industrial development including \$15 million for specific South Island projects (p.46). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The final policy in this sub-policy area related to an assessment of the extent of foreign ownership and control of land, industry and other resources in New Zealand. The Manifesto stated that:

“This will become a public record and be used to gauge the present extent of this control and to form a base from which the economy can move back to greater New Zealand control.” (15)

While Labour did set up an Overseas Investment Commission to monitor this, its job description did not include a retrospective assessment which would become a ‘public record’. It certainly vetted any prospective overseas investment in New Zealand with the stated policies’ purpose in mind, but according to the Overseas Investment Office (pers. com. 19/6/06), no such public record has ever come to fruition. This policy is coded as unfulfilled.

The two analysed promises in the ‘Taxation’ sub-policy area, both fall into the secondary level sub-policy area entitled ‘Taxation and Saving Incentives’. The first of these explains that:

“Because human labour is the main source of wealth, tax policy will be designed to reduce disincentives for all who work.” (16)

While modifications to the tax system were made to benefit many, the operative word in this particular promise is ‘all’. Therefore, for this promise to be fulfilled, all workers would need to be provided with incentives to work more. However, Hunt tells us that the tax rate for those earning over \$12,000 a year was increased from 45 to 50 cents in the dollar (1975, p.8), which meant that they were effectively paying half of their income in tax under the Third Labour Government. It seems fair to consider this a disincentive for those workers. Thus, this policy is coded as unfulfilled.

The other plank in this secondary level area related to a tax exemption on savings scheme. Under Labour, individuals and company’s were permitted to deposit income immediately into approved accounts in such a way as to make these deposits

and their interest tax exempt. This policy was designed to enable individuals and companies to accumulate funds for investment more quickly, encourage investment finance to be reallocated to other policy areas, decrease inflationary pressure and according to the Manifesto:

“The benefit to the individual will be greater in combination with other factors.” (16)

Investment certainly increased between 1972-5 in real terms. Philpott presents figures based on 1969 prices that indicate an increase in the level of private investment of almost a quarter of a billion dollars between 1972 and 1975 (1975, p.41). This would appear to indicate substantial benefits accruing to individual investors. This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The final sub-policy area was ‘Production Incentives’. The last finance and taxation platform to be analysed is in the ‘Tax Deduction – Shift Workers’ section. It relates to tax rebates for shift workers and then builds on this principle with the following platform:

“In the light of experience of the operations of this, production incentives for wage earners in other categories, where such incentives are likely to contribute to industrial efficiency and productivity, will be explored.” (17)

According to Hunt, Labour did also introduce a 10 cent per hour rebate on overtime (1975, p.32). This meant that not only shift workers, but those working overtime also enjoyed this production incentive. This platform is coded as fulfilled. Overall, then, seven-ninths of the analysed finance and taxation platforms were fulfilled.

4.10 FISHING INDUSTRY

With only 14 pledges made in this area, the one, which was assessed, stated that:

“Where necessary, consideration will be given to the off-shore ship processing of pelagic fish as well as the encouragement of overseas fishing interests to process their catches on our vessels or New Zealand based factories.” (17)

According to Hunt, this encouragement led to Star-Kist, an American interest, considering setting up a local cannery for mackarel (1975, p.56). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

4.11 FOREIGN INVESTMENT

This policy area contained 15 policies, two of which were analysed. The first of these related to the DFC. The Manifesto said that:

“This will have authority to expand its New Zealand capital and also to borrow overseas.” (18)

According to Hunt, the Government more than doubled the Corporation’s equity capital and it undertook a borrowing programme (1975, p.46). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The other foreign investment promise related to subsidiaries of overseas companies and stated that:

“They will be required to show turnover and profit and loss statements together with figures of tax paid both in New Zealand and overseas and amounts set aside for depreciation on their local activities.” (18)

This was an odd promise given that these requirements were already outlined clearly in the Companies Act 1955 and continued to be in force during the term of the Third Labour Government, at least until 1976 (NZS Vol. 4 1976, p.2919). Nevertheless, this means that the promise was coded as fulfilled. Overall, this represents 100% fulfilment for foreign investment promises.

4.12 FORESTRY

Like foreign investment, the forestry policy area contained 15 planks. The one which was analysed, stated that:

“Industries using timber as a raw material are particularly appropriate to Labour’s Regional Development policies, and their expansion will be fostered.” (19)

Such fostering seems to have occurred and “the expansion of industries using timber as a raw material is indicated by statistical data” (Hunt 1975, p.57). For example, sawn timber production increased by 6.3% between 1973-4 and wood pulp production by 22% over the same period. This plank is coded as fulfilled.

4.13 HEALTH

This policy area was substantial with 44 platforms across 13 sub-policy areas. This meant that some areas only contained one or two platforms. The first assessed platform came from the ‘Planned Targets and Objectives’ section. It related to a ten-year plan for the provision of health services and stated that:

“Labour will construct inside this plan a shorter programme for the first five years.” (20)

Neither the Hospitals Amendment Act 1973, the ministerial White Paper, ‘A Health Service for New Zealand’ (1974), nor the Third Labour Government’s first Minister of Health, Bob Tizard (pers. com. 20/6/06), make mention of this shorter five year programme. This platform is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge comes from the ‘Hospital System’ section and relates to the previously established Hospital Advisory Council. It states that:

“Labour will require the Hospital Advisory Council to examine each proposal for the building of a new hospital and review the present usage of the existing hospitals with a view to ensuring the most effective and efficient use of available resources.” (20)

Once again, this requirement was not mentioned in the Hospitals Amendment Act 1973 or in the pre-‘72 original legislation establishing the Council. Bob Tizard suggested that the Council expected justification of expenditure on a case-by-case

basis, but that there was ‘no specified requirement’ (pers. com. 20/6/06) for this from the Government as the Manifesto pledged. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The third policy is taken from the ‘General Practice’ section and states that:

“A Labour Government will extend the provision of practice nurses to urban areas.” (21)

By 1975, a subsidy of 100% of the salary costs of nurses in urban practices was available (Hunt 1975, p. 61). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth promise is taken from the ‘Preventive Medicine’ section and states that:

“A Labour Government will place more emphasis on the preventive measures which surveys show are the most effective.” (21)

Labour undertook a number of measures to make good on this promise. They expanded audiology clinics, provided subsidies for water supply and sewerage, established a public health laboratory and a committee to advise on noise control procedures (Hunt 1975, p.61). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The final health plank was taken from the ‘Nursing’ section and in relation to this, it stated that:

“Labour will provide more diversified and intensive post-graduate training.” (21)

As a result of this, post-graduate nursing courses were made available at both Massey and Victoria Universities (Hunt 1975, p.62). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 60% of health planks are coded as fulfilled.

4.14 HOUSING

Like health, housing contained five platforms for analysis taken from a total of 58. These came from five of the 14 sub-policy sections. The first platform comes from the

‘Housing Authority’ section. It relates to goals set by the National Housing Authority (NHA) and referring to the Authority, states that:

“It will be expected to recommend targets to effectively attain these goals.”
(22)

Instead of forming the NHA, Labour created a Housing Commission. Its scope included the setting of appropriate goals and targets to meet them on a three to five year basis (Hunt 1975, p.20). This platform is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge comes from the ‘Home Ownership’ section. Previously, the State Advances Corporation (SAC), which administered housing finance, offered standard home loans at 5½%, with 3% loans for low income earners. This particular pledge was a status quo pledge inasmuch as it committed the Government to maintaining the policy of the previous administration. It stated that:

“The normal 5½% loan will continue to be available for those who do not qualify for lower interest loans.” (22)

This practice was certainly still current at the time of the 1974 Budget statement which reads; “...the SAC’s main lending rate is at present 5½ percent” (AJHR 1973 Vol. 2 B.6, p.18). In addition to this, according to Stan Rodger, “large numbers of those receiving State Advances loans received even better loan conditions than those promised in the manifesto” (pers. com. 11/8/06). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third policy comes from the ‘Building Sections’ section and relates to serviced building sections. It states that:

“The interchange of some sections between State and private developers to assist in mixing types of houses and people will be encouraged.” (23)

By May of 1974, “a crash Government land buying and development programme [was] under way, increasing the supply of sections for private and State homes” (Hunt 1974, p.20). At least half of these sections were offered for private development and incentives to encourage lower-cost land development by private enterprise were announced in 1975 (Hunt 1975, p.21). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth promise comes from the ‘State Housing’ section and relates to the purchase of existing housing on the open market to be used as state rental accommodation. With reference to this move, the Manifesto reads:

“This is a new move and will also have the advantage of pepper potting rental homes in older suburbs.” (23)

During 1973 alone, 192 existing homes were bought on the open market in areas where there was a heavy demand for rental units (Hunt 1975, p.22). This resulted in a diversification and spatial integration of state housing stock as promised. This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The last housing plank analysed comes from the ‘Building Industry’ section and relates to a previous plank assuring contract continuity for builders. With reference to this assurance, the Manifesto reads:

“This will ensure that skilled tradesmen within the industry have stability of employment.” (24)

Accordingly, targets for Government-financed housing for the 1975-6 year, for example, were announced late 1974 “to assure the building industry of continuing government support and to enable the industry to plan ahead” (Hunt 1975, p.23). This seemed to honour the commitment to provide builders with employment stability. This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s housing planks are coded as fulfilled.

4.15 IMMIGRATION

With only seven platforms, immigration represented one of the smaller policy areas with one platform assessed which reads:

“In selecting immigrants, preference will be given to skilled tradesmen in specified fields with special skills and/or experience.” (25)

Under Labour, new immigration criteria were introduced. One of the new application requirements insisted that; “The breadwinner must have skills and qualifications in continuing demand” (Hunt 1975, p.33) in New Zealand. This platform is coded as fulfilled.

4.16 IMPORTING

Another small policy area, containing only one more pledge than immigration, was importing. The only importing pledge analysed relates to import end-user licenses and insisted that:

“The administration of licensing will be transferred to a special section of the Development Division of the Department of Industries and Commerce so that licensing can be directly related to industrial development, while at the same time avoiding delays and duplication which results from the present control split between two departments.” (25)

“On February 27, 1973, licensing was transferred from Customs to a special section of the development division of the Trade and Industry Department achieving the promised consolidation” (Hunt 1975, p.11). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

4.17 INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

There were 21 industrial development policies and two of these were assessed. The first stated that:

“Regional industrial development will be fostered by creating the circumstances and incentives which will enable existing industry in provincial centres to expand and operate more competitively with those based in major market centres.” (26)

There was an “extension of incentives under the regional development programme” (Hunt 1975, p.48). These included, among other things, special consideration for the

regions outside of Auckland and Wellington with respect to qualifying plant definitions, selective grants, suspensory loans, mortgage finance and depreciation allowances. This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The other promise relates to Corporation Regional Development Councils (RDC's) which were to operate under the Industrial Development Finance Corporation (which was to supersede the DFC). The Manifesto reads:

“Corporation councils will be authorised to grant...guarantees to the State Advances Corporation or other lending institutions for housing for technicians, specialists and workers brought from other areas.” (26)

By 19 March, 1975, 10 RDC's had been established in Otago, West Coast, Wanganui, Southland, Northland, Wairarapa, Taranaki, East Coast, King Country and South Canterbury. These provided a number of services to the regions including housing guarantees for workers involved in regional industrial development projects (Hunt 1975, p.46). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, this represents 100% fulfilment of industrial development promises.

4.18 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There were 43 industrial relations planks and four of these were assessed. The first relates to help for those who are unemployed because of physical, psychological or educational handicaps and affirms that:

“Such help will include education and training deemed in the light of the assessment of abilities and disabilities to be most appropriate for the development of the individual's potential.” (27)

The Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act was passed in 1975 and provided “for disabled persons to undergo assessment, and undertake work experience or training, for employment” and to “receive education or technical training with a view to employment” (NZS 1975 Vol. 2, p.943). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second platform reads:

“The Minimum Wage Act 1945 will be amended to establish a minimum rate which will enable a worker to obtain a living wage for a 40-hour week.” (27)

The Minimum Wage Act 1945 was amended in 1974, but it did not establish a new minimum rate (see Minimum Wage Amendment Act 1974 in NZS 1974 Vol.2, p.1799). This platform is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge reads:

“Without limitation, a Labour Government will provide that holiday pay is based either on the average actual earnings of the employee during the preceding year or on the wage being paid at the time the leave is taken, whichever is higher.” (28)

The Annual Holidays Amendment Act 1974 ensured that holiday pay was “based on average weekly earnings, including overtime, bonuses, etc” (Hunt 1975, p.32). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The final industrial relations policy reads:

“Because human labour is the main source of wealth, Labour will introduce production incentives to wage and salary earners.” (28)

“In keeping with its manifesto pledge, Labour introduced a 10 cents an hour rebate on overtime and 40 cents for every shift worked, in order to encourage greater productivity” (Hunt 1975, p.32). This policy is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of Labour’s industrial relations policies are coded as fulfilled.

4.19 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

There were 31 international affairs promises contained in 10 sub-policy areas. Three promises were analysed, each representing a different area. The first of these comes from the ‘Treaties’ section and reads:

“In accord with the principles of the United Nations, Labour will seek to promote wider regional arrangements for the preservation of peace, Treaties

of friendship, trade and mutual assistance with Pacific and South East Asian countries.” (29)

According to Kennaway, Labour implemented a clear “shift in policy in regard to regional co-operation in the Asian and Pacific region, exemplified by the move away from organisations such as ASPAC towards developing links with ASEAN and the functional organisations” (1975, pp.170-1). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank comes from the ‘Representation Abroad’ section and in relation to this states that:

“Priority will be accorded [to] the strengthening of co-operation with Australia.” (30)

In 1975, Hunt tells us that “co-operation between New Zealand and Australia has been closer under the Labour Government than for many years past” (p.26). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The final international affairs platform comes from the ‘Aid: Principles’ section and reads:

“Where possible we will remove barriers to trade as a form of aid through trade.” (30)

By 1974, the Government had moved in this direction by reducing trade tariffs for developing countries. “The special rates granted these countries [were] in accordance with the GATT generalised system of preferences (G.S.P.) aimed to help developing countries” (AJHR 1974 Vol.1 B.24, p.11). As a result, this platform is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s international affairs platforms are coded as fulfilled.

4.20 JUSTICE, LAW AND ORDER

There were 28 justice, law and order pledges and three of these were analysed for fulfilment. The first of these reads:

“The mounting toll of personal injury and property damage caused by vandals, hooligans and stand-over bullies will be met by positive action.” (31)

While the Minister of Justice, Dr Martyn Finlay, was rated first-equal with the Prime Minister in a 1973 Cabinet roll-of-honour (Roberts 1974, p.77) for his programme of penal reform and enthusiasm for the administration of justice, by 1975, the results of this were still largely unseen by leading legal academics such as Neil Cameron (1975) who claimed that Labour’s efforts were “only the first step in the development of a consistent and truly progressive penal policy, and ... no substitute for concrete action” (p. 119). This suggests that action was not evident and given that action was pledged, but not observed, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The second policy relates to an advisory Council which Labour said it would establish to review penalties, crime prevention and rehabilitation training. It reads:

“The Council will consist of experienced lay people and representatives of police, welfare workers, and churches.” (31)

In relation to the mention of this in the 1972 Manifesto, Cameron stated in 1975; “The Council does not seem to have even been discussed since” (p.118). This policy is coded as unfulfilled.

The final justice, law and order promise to be analysed reads:

“A Labour Government will overhaul the present legal aid system to ensure that all accused persons are made aware of their rights on arrest and have access to adequate legal representation regardless of the accused’s social or economic standing.” (31)

According to Robert Moodie, reforms in this area were made, but he believed that “Labour [could] hardly claim credit for the improvements...nor [could] it claim to have met its promise to provide adequate representation” (1975, p.108). This promise is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 0% of Labour’s justice, law and order promises were coded as fulfilled.

4.21 LAND

There were only eight land planks, one of which was assessed for fulfilment. It reads:

“The Marginal Lands Board will continue to function and maintain a close liaison with the proposed Rural Banking and Finance Corporation.” (32)

The Marginal Lands Board did continue to function under Labour and the Rural Banking and Finance Corporation assisted by considering applications for farm finance where Board funds were stretched (see Rata (Minister of Lands) in NZPD Vol.395 1974, p. 5649). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

4.22 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There were 18 local government platforms in five sub-policy areas and two of these (in different areas) were analysed for fulfilment. The first of these comes from the ‘Ombudsman’ section and reads:

“The jurisdiction of this office will be extended to cover all local bodies.” (33)

The Ombudsmen Bill extended “the Ombudsman’s powers to a wide range of local bodies and ad-hoc authorities” (Hunt 1975, p.35). This platform is coded as fulfilled.

The other pledge comes from the ‘Local Body Loans’ section and reads:

“The general policy on finance and taxation will ensure a better flow of loan money to local bodies without increases in interest rates.” (33)

In 1975, Government Life Insurance Offices were required to “switch 1 per cent of their funds from Government stock to local authority loans” which represented 10 per cent of local authority gross borrowing requirements and moved \$18 million into local authority new issues (Hunt, p.7). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of local government pledges are coded as fulfilled.

4.23 MAORI AFFAIRS

There were 46 Maori affairs policies (printed in English and Maori) across 11 sub-policy areas. Four of these were analysed and each came from a different area. The first comes from the ‘Maori Language and Studies’ section and reads:

“Maori language will be introduced as an optional subject in secondary schools.” (36)

By “1974, 92 secondary schools were teaching Maori to more than 9000 pupils, both Maori and non-Maori” (Hunt 1975, p.16). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise comes from the ‘Maori Parliamentary Representation’ section and simply reads:

“This will continue.” (36)

The Maori seats became permanent in 1876 and there were still four a century later (New Zealand History Online 2006). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third plank comes from the ‘Maori Land Incorporations’ section and reads:

“The Labour Party believes in the concept of land incorporations and will encourage their expansion to greater productivity, and will invite representatives of Maori Land Incorporations and other interested parties to a conference to advise on the best means of attaining efficiency, incentives, and all matters affecting incorporations.” (37)

“The New Zealand Maori Land Incorporations Inaugural Conference was held from November 22-24, 1974.” This Conference was attended by 800 people representing 126 Incorporations and it considered 68 remits relating to them (Hunt 1975, p.38). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The final platform comes from the ‘Maori Art, Craft, and Cultural Activities’ section and reads:

“Maori arts and crafts will be positively encouraged.” (37)

In 1973, Koro Wetere asserted that; “The Labour Government has given great thought to the arts and crafts of this country, including Maori arts and crafts.” One of the manifestations of this was the Polynesian Festival held in Rotorua that year (NZPD Vol.384 1973, p.2387). This platform is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s Maori affairs platforms are coded as fulfilled.

4.24 MINISTRY OF ENERGY RESOURCES

There were 18 Ministry of Energy Resources pledges in four main sub-policy areas. Two pledges were analysed for fulfilment from different areas. The first of these comes from the ‘Electricity’ section and relates to the policy to supply low-cost electricity. The manifesto reads:

“The Labour Government established power planning committees with this policy in view, and this will be continued.” (38)

Labour was still applying this philosophy in 1975 and during the Government’s term, “bulk electricity charges [were] kept at the level prevailing when the Government took office and only small rises [were] allowed in the retail charges” (Hunt, p.43). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other Ministry of Energy Resources policy comes from the ‘Coal’ section and reads:

“Greater encouragement will be given to research, and a Labour Government will expand the research programme dealing with alternative and more economic uses of coal.” (38)

In 1975, Hunt claimed that; “The Government has undertaken major projects to comply with its manifesto promise to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure the fullest utilisation of coal, both for domestic and industrial purposes and to expand the research programme dealing with alternative and more economic use of coal.” This included not only coal power station development (most notably Huntly), but also encouragement and help for industrial conversion from fuel oils to coal (p.44). This

policy is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour's Ministry of Energy Resources policies are coded as fulfilled.

4.25 MINISTRY OF WORKS AND DEVELOPMENT

There were 38 Ministry of Works and Development promises and four of these were analysed for fulfilment. Labour replaced the Ministry of Works with the expanded Ministry of Works and Development, which included the development division of the Ministry of Energy Resources. The first promise relates to this expanded Works and Development Department and reads:

"The Department will be responsible for co-ordinating and extending Government activity in National Development and Research." (39)

The Public Works Amendment Act 1973, which established the new Ministry of Works and Development and outlined its functions, failed to mention 'National Development' as one of these functions or a responsibility to 'co-ordinate and extend Government activity' in relation to it (NZS 1973 Vol.1, pp.650-1). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank in relation to the Ministry of Works and Development reads:

"The engineering and technical staff will be strengthened." (39)

It seems unlikely that this plank relates to the physical strength of individual staff members and it is therefore interpreted to refer to the number of engineering and technical staff employed by the Ministry. While the number of technical support staff increased between 1972 and 1974 from 1,013 to 1,084, the number of engineering staff decreased from 757 to 744 (AJHR 1974 Vol.2 D.1, p.6). This represents a weakening rather than a strengthening in trained engineers working for the Ministry. Consequently, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third platform relates to roading and reads:

"There will be special grants to meet the needs of problem areas in construction and bridging." (40)

An example of this occurring could be seen in “major road constructions in Dunedin” which were “given top priority” and provided with “special assistance” in the form of subsidies (Hunt 1975, p.50). This platform is coded as fulfilled.

The final Ministry of Works and Development pledge to be assessed relates to paying the capital costs of new irrigation schemes and reads:

“Payments will be on a graduated basis to allow the farmer to meet his commitments from the increased production.” (40)

This is very similar to the agricultural irrigation pledge mentioned above. As previously noted, the Public Works Amendment Act 1975 made provision for a graduated charging system to operate over a number of years, corresponding with estimated increases in output (NZS 1975 Vol.2, p.1296). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 50% of Labour’s Ministry of Works and Development pledges are coded as fulfilled.

4.26 OVERSEAS TRADE

There were 22 overseas trade policies and three of these were analysed for fulfilment. The first of these emphatically asserts that:

“A Labour Government will embark upon a vigorous trade expansion programme.” (41)

“In 1974, new trade posts were opened in Peking, Vienna and Moscow” and “a variety of new economic agreements [were] concluded – including those with Australia, Indonesia, the Soviet Union, China, Peru, Iran [and] Yugoslavia” (Hunt 1975, pp.13-14). Consequently, this policy is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise relates to the Export-Import Corporation established by the third Labour Government and reads:

“In order to strengthen the Corporation, it will become a significant purchasing agent for the New Zealand Government.” (41)

Hunt explains that the Corporation was “set up to trade on behalf of small businesses and Government, adding punch to our export drive” (1975, p.13). Because the Government is a major player in international trade, its involvement in using the corporation for its own import needs secured cheaper rates for small businesses by maximising the benefits of unitisation. This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The final overseas trade plank to be assessed relates to Producer Boards and reads:

“Without affecting producer representation on Producer Boards, a Labour Government will appoint as its representatives persons experienced in commercial marketing to be members of the Dairy Board, the Meat Board and the Wool Board.” (42)

Warren Freer (Minister of Overseas Trade) says that “this could only be done when existing board members retired or their appointments expired and my understanding is that Colin Moyle [Minister of Agriculture] implemented this policy” (pers. com. 2/8/06). Therefore, this plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s overseas trade planks are coded as fulfilled.

4.27 RAILWAYS

There were 19 railways platforms and two of them were assessed. The first of these relates to the elimination and modernisation of out-moded techniques, plant and rolling stock and states that because of this:

“The competition then offered will be hard, keen and efficient.” (43)

While much rail modernisation occurred during the ’72-5 period (Hunt 1975, pp.66-7), the use of adjectives describing competition as ‘hard, keen and efficient’ makes assessing this platform an extraordinarily subjective process. These ideas can be measured in a range of different ways, but it is difficult to measure efficiency along a strict statement of accounts line during those years because of the freeze imposed on rail charges, which meant an inability for the railways to cover their costs adequately

as would be the case in a free market environment. In this sense, competition was distorted. However, Euan McQueen (Chairman, Railway Heritage Trust of New Zealand) says; “My memory of what happened at the time (the closure of branch lines and many small stations, the completion of the conversion from steam to diesel, improved signalling, reducing staff for greater tonnages, greater productivity from the wagon fleet) would all suggest that [keener efficiency] was the case” (pers. com. 1/9/06). Thus, this platform is coded as fulfilled.

The other railways pledge to be analysed relates to a review of the previous government’s policy criteria for the closure of branch and railcar services and reads:

“The criteria will be the local interest and usage, not just the isolated profitability of individual operations.” (43)

While the McQueen quote above attests to the fact that some branch lines and small stations were closed, this was not the result of an overall policy to economise at the expense of service where this was required. This is illustrated by the following evidence provided by Hunt with reference to the ’72-5 period: “The Wairarapa railcar service has been restored providing a connection with the Napier-bound Endeavour service, a passenger link to Taranaki, a mid-morning service from Woodville to Wellington, and a new commuter service from Masterton provides a connection with the Silver Fern to Auckland” (1975, p.67). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s railways pledges are coded as fulfilled.

4.28 SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

There were only seven science and research policies and one of these was assessed for fulfilment. It relates to the idea that scientific and research resources are vital to the growth and development of New Zealand’s economic, industrial and social progress and reads:

“Recognising this, Labour will review the present balance of resource utilisation to ensure that problems such as market requirements related to research and development are fully taken into account.” (44)

The Scientific and Industrial Research Act 1974 established the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) and outlined its functions. However, not one of the 13-strong list of functions makes any reference to market requirements at all, let alone obliging the Department to take them into account when allocating resources to various projects. This policy is coded as unfulfilled.

4.29 SHIPPING

There were nine shipping promises and once again, only one of these was analysed for fulfilment. The manifesto reads:

“A Tug and Barge service will be instituted by the New Zealand Shipping Corporation to serve New Zealand ports and it’s off shore islands where necessary and practical.” (45)

By mid-1975, this was still in the ‘study’ phase of development (Hunt, p. 68) and Freer says that “plans were underway towards this end, but the uncertainty over oil prices and supply made it impossible to proceed” (pers. com. 2/8/06). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

4.30 SOCIAL SECURITY MONETARY BENEFITS

There were 21 social security monetary benefits planks and two of these were assessed for fulfilment. The first of them relates to increases in the allowable income for means test beneficiaries and reads:

“As an initial step the allowable income will be restored to its pre Budget level.” (46)

The Social Security Amendment Act 1973 amended the principal act increasing allowable income substantially as of Valentine’s Day that year (NZS 1973 Vol.1, p.566). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other social security monetary benefits platform which was analysed for fulfilment reads:

“Labour will establish a comprehensive wage-related contributory superannuation scheme.” (46)

“In October 1973 the Government introduced into Parliament the New Zealand Superannuation Corporation Bill which, despite trenchant opposition attacks and subsequent amendments, was pushed through the House and became operative on 1 April 1975. The Labour scheme provided for an income-related, employer-subsidised superannuation scheme to which all wage and salary earners in New Zealand [had to] belong unless they [were] covered by an approved alternative scheme” (Gustafson 1975, p.77). This platform is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s social security monetary benefits platforms are coded as fulfilled.

4.31 SOCIAL WELFARE

There were 58 social welfare pledges and six of these were assessed for fulfilment. The first of them relates to preventing social problems and reads:

“This will mean provision of training for all social workers.” (47)

In 1973, Norman King (Minister of Social Welfare) established “the New Zealand Social Work Training Council to organise and co-ordinate the training of social workers from voluntary as well as from government agencies” (Gustafson 1975, p.77). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second policy relates to research and reads:

“A Labour Government will make funds available to provide facilities and co-ordinate social research.” (47)

Hunt tells us that “since the Labour Government took office the amount of money spent on social research in New Zealand has increased rapidly” (1975, p.63). This policy is coded as fulfilled.

The third and fourth promises relate to care of the aged and the first of these reads:

“A Labour Government will provide movable living quarters adjacent to existing buildings at low rental where sufficient land is available to enable families to care for their elderly relatives.” (48)

Neither Hunt, Gustafson nor the Ministry of Social Welfare report in the Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR) make any reference to this promise at all. Discussions with Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Associate Minister of Social Welfare) suggested that there was certainly an intention to bring this about, but she could not confirm that this was in fact fulfilled (pers. com. 30/6/06). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The other care of the aged plank that was analysed reads:

“A Labour Government will increase the payment of subsidies on behalf of elderly or invalid persons in old people’s homes in order to eliminate any financial hardship.” (48)

“Subsidies for residential homes and geriatric hospitals run by religious and welfare organisations [were] substantially increased” by 1975 (Hunt, p.61). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth social welfare platform to be assessed relates to care of the child and reads:

“A Labour Government will provide for the increased use of local school facilities for cultural, recreational and educational purposes outside school hours.” (48)

Once again, reference to commentators such as Hunt and Gustafson reveal no suggestion to this effect and the AJHR Social Welfare report is equally blank in relation to this platform. Sullivan suggested that this did not occur to any great degree, although there were isolated examples of this idea being trialled (pers. com. 30/6/06). This platform is coded as unfulfilled.

The final social welfare pledge that was analysed for fulfilment relates to community care for the handicapped and reads:

“A Labour Government will ensure that building codes enable accessibility and mobility.” (48)

The Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act 1975 included provision for this by stating that; “In any case where provision is being made for the construction on any land of any new building, the person liable for the cost of construction or major reconstruction, shall, in the means of access both to and within the building or premises, and in the parking facilities and sanitary conveniences to be available, ensure that reasonable and adequate provision is made for disabled persons” (NZS 1975 Vol.2, p.941). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of Labour’s Social Welfare pledges are coded as fulfilled.

4.32 TOURISM

There were 14 tourism policies and only one of these was assessed for fulfilment. It relates to promoting New Zealand as a tourist attraction and reads:

“To this end Labour will facilitate the entry of tourists to New Zealand by a review of Customs and visa requirements; and co-ordinate overseas publicity with other operators in the Pacific basin to persuade tourists already attracted to the area to extend their travel to New Zealand.” (49)

While there was a substantial increase in tourist numbers under the third Labour Government and there was much effort put into publicity, the Annual Report to Parliament of the Controller of Customs only makes reference to a tariff review and no review of visa requirements is mentioned (AJHR 1974 Vol.1 B.24). Consequently, this policy is coded as unfulfilled.

4.33 TRANSPORT

Like tourism, there were 14 transport promises, but this time two were analysed. The first of them relates to a restructured Transport Advisory Council (TAC) and reads:

“The Council will be authorised to study and recommend ways of co-ordinating and rationalising goods and passenger services by road, rail, sea and air.” (50)

By January 1973, a massive transport study report was under study by the TAC “and action [had] been taken on a number of its recommendations” (Hunt 1975, p.68). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The final plank assessed for fulfilment relates to road safety and reads:

“In the interests of Road Safety the Transport Act will be amended to preclude Licensing Authorities from issuing rental bus licences for vehicles requiring heavy trade licences.” (50)

“The Transport Act [was] amended to prevent Licensing Authorities issuing rental bus licences for vehicles requiring heavy trade licences” (Hunt 1975, p.68). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of Labour’s transport planks are coded as fulfilled.

4.34 SUMMARY

There were 37 sections in Labour’s 1972 Election Manifesto and 33 of these included planks that were assessed for fulfilment. The four policy areas omitted were ‘Earthquake and War Damage’, ‘News Media’, ‘Prices and Rents’ and ‘Shipping (Containerisation)’. These areas contained between one and seven planks each and the representative selection process did not allow for their inclusion because the planks they contained were not the next tenth plank in order.

Out of a total sample of 91 planks, Labour fulfilled 70. This represents a fulfilment rate of 77%. Much could be said from a philosophical position about whether this is an acceptable level of election promise-keeping, but it is probably best seen in the light of subsequent chapters for comparative value. However, perhaps it is appropriate to include the words of Bob Tizard (Minister of Health) who sums up what a number of those involved in the third Labour Government have suggested as justification for some lack of complete fulfilment. He writes: "I was very well aware, very soon after the first serious effects of the limitations on supplies of oil before the deepening, ongoing blows of its rising cost, that we were in trouble if we tried to carry our whole programme through" (pers. com. 8/8/06).

CHAPTER FIVE: THIRD NATIONAL GOVERNMENT 1975-84

As the second government to be analysed in this study, the Third National Government was elected in November 1975, with exactly the same majority that the previous Labour Government had enjoyed just three years before. This landslide victory saw the Muldoon Government commence its tenure “on the crest of a wave” (Templeton 1995, p.16). However, reality set in very quickly and National Party President, George Chapman summarised the position in 1976 to the annual conference by saying that “although the Government changed ..., the problems did not change, and we inherited...the worst economic crisis since the thirties” (as recorded in Chapman 1980, p.124). This made the task of implementing National’s election policies over the following nine years (three terms of office) an especially challenging one. Overall, there were 3024 pledges made in the three major election policy documents of 1975, 1978 and 1981. This chapter will present an assessment of a representative sample of 10% of those commitments, 304 in all.

5.1 FIRST TERM: 1975-8

The National Party 1975 General Election Policy (NZNP 1975 GEP) contained in total, 1434 pledges on 196 pages representing an average of more than seven promises per page. This indicates a pledge density which was less than half that of the previous Labour Government’s manifesto.

5.1.1 Agriculture

National presented a very comprehensive agricultural policy indeed, with 133 commitments (of which 13 were assessed), it was the most substantial policy area of their 1975 election policy. The first of these came under the sub-policy area ‘Research, Development and Diversification’ and boasted that:

“National will give greater priority to research into and the development of farming practices that will give increased production and profitability per acre through: - Improved breeds of animals.” (3)

Expenditure on agricultural research increased from \$13,770,000 in 1975/6 to \$15,297,000 in 1976/7 (AJHR 1976 Vol.1 B.7, p.19). In addition, the Ruakura Animal Research Station annual report notes that “a series of long-term breeding experiments is aimed at increasing the productivity of both sheep and cattle through improvement of established breeds; crossbreeding for specified requirements; and introduction of breeds not previously established in New Zealand that can be used either as pure breeds or to increase the range of crossbreeding” (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 C.5, p.27). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The next two pledges formed part of the ‘Social Aspects’ sub-policy and related to rural areas. The first of these asserted that:

“More attention will be given to: - Communications, roading, mail delivery, telephone services.” (3)

The National Party 1978 General Election Policy (NZNP 1978 GEP) admitted that rural communications were still “unsatisfactory” after three years of National Government and that they would therefore be “upgrading rural telephone services” (p.5). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second social aspects commitment boasted that:

“A National Government will ensure that the social needs of those who live in our rural communities and rural service towns are adequately provided for.” (148)

This is closely related to the previous commitment and its unsatisfactory resolution. Telecommunications represent a social need of rural communities, which was not met during the first term of the Third National Government (TNG). It is therefore also coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth plank related to the Agricultural Production Council and claimed:

“National will restore the Agricultural Production Council to its former role and will broaden the scope of the Agricultural Advisory Committees to provide a co-operative community based voice in the development of rural policies and farming.” (4)

The 1976 annual report of the Agricultural Production Council bore testimony to the fulfilment of this plank as it recorded the council as having “monitored progress being made by producer board/Government department high-level working parties” and that “the other advisory committees continue to review their local farming issues and provide a valuable link between the on-farm situation and the national scene” (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 C.5, p.67).

The fifth pledge formed part of the ‘Farm Income Sufficiency’ sub-policy area and denoted that:

“To ensure farm income sufficiency National will: (b) provide additional financial assistance as required.” (139)

During the first term of the TNG, financial assistance was provided to ensure farm income sufficiency and this is evidenced by National’s subsequent pledge in 1978 that “financial assistance [would] continue to be provided through a combination of direct price [and] on [and] off-farm cost support” (NZNP 1978 GEP, p.2). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth promise formed part of the ‘Meat Hygiene’ sub-policy area and related to the regulations necessary to meet international standards. It established that:

“National will hold early discussions with the New Zealand Meat Producers Board and the meat industry to determine the method of financing the necessary improvements.” (140)

The Government in 1977 announced “assistance to the meat-freezing industry for approved hygiene expenditure” (Barclay in NZPD Vol.412 1977, p.1758). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The seventh commitment is from the ‘Farm Purchase’ area and asserted that:

“To assist young farmers to purchase their first farm National will: Provide through the Rural Bank, special settlement loans of up to 20% of Rural Bank valuation where recommended by a Loans Committee, set up to make these recommendations.” (142)

“As an expansion of farm settlement policies “special” settlement loans were announced in the Budget and introduced in late 1976. In suitable propositions the Rural Bank will lend up to 85 percent of its assessment of the value of land, buildings, stock, and essential plant required” (AJHR 1977 Vol.1 B.25, p.7). This commitment was fulfilled well in excess of requirements.

The eighth plank related to ‘Crown Land Settlement’ and the method used for allocating it. It boasted that:

“The present system of ballot will be continued.” (143)

Exactly the same plank appears in the NZNP 1978 GEP suggesting that this status quo policy was in fact continued (p.3).

The ninth pledge related to the ‘Financing of [irrigation] Schemes’ and claimed that:

“The financing and payment of subsidies for the building of approved irrigation schemes will be on the following basis: Government will be responsible for all works outside the irrigable area.”

NZNP 1978 GEP stated that this policy would be continued providing evidence that it had become standard by the end of the TNG’s first term (p.4).

The tenth promise formed part of the ‘General Policy’ area, but still related to the cost of irrigation schemes and denoted that:

“Where warranted, accumulated losses will be written off as well as that portion of the capital cost of existing schemes for which a service charge is shown to be unwarranted.” (145)

This provision associated with the 1975 irrigation policy became fully effective as of the 28th of February 1978. Write-offs were “calculated on the basis of one-tenth for

each full year the loan [had] been operative” (AJHR 1978 Vol.2 B.6, p.20). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The eleventh commitment fell under the ‘Wine Industry’ sub-policy area and related to the agreement reached by the winegrowers and the winemakers to establish the Wine Industries of New Zealand under the Incorporated Societies Act and established that:

“A National Government will demonstrate its support for the wine industry by introducing legislation that will allow the Wine Institute to levy the winemakers in accordance with this agreement.” (147)

“An Act to authorise the levying of grape wine makers to provide money for the promotion, development, and improvement of the grape wine making industry” was enacted on 9 December 1976 thus fulfilling this commitment (Wine Makers Levy Act 1976 NZS Vol.3, p.1830).

The twelfth plank related to ‘Farm Worker Housing’ and asserted that:

“National, recognising the problem faced by career farm workers in seeking to obtain a home of their own, particularly for retirement, will ensure that loan money is available, through the Housing Corporation, to enable farm workers to build or buy a home for occupancy in a town or township near to their place of employment (subject to other Housing Corporation criteria being met).” (149)

“National ensured that finance [was] available, through the Housing Corporation, to enable farm workers to build or buy a home for occupancy in a rural township near to their place of employment” (NZNP 1978 GEP, p.4). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The thirteenth and final agricultural pledge assessed related to ‘Social Research’ and boasted that:

“National will give priority to further social research, with particular reference to the age structure of farmers;” (150)

By the middle of 1977, National was still using farmer age structure information collected during the term of the previous National Government, which does not

indicate a prioritisation of this research (e.g. see Templeton in NZPD Vol.410 1977, p.650). This pledge was coded as unfulfilled. Overall, then, of the 13 agricultural pledges assessed, 10 were fulfilled and three were not which represents a 77% fulfilment rate.

5.1.2 Arts

With only 33 promises, arts was below the average of 36 and therefore one of the less well represented areas. Three of these promises were assessed and the first related to ‘Cultural Identity’. It claimed that:

“Encouragement will be given by a National Government for the Arts Council to offer subsidies to local authorities which commission works by artists, sculptors, and weavers, for murals, wall hangings, etc., for public buildings and urban landscape;” (184)

Substantial commitments were made through the Arts Council to local authorities for general expenditure on visual arts during the first term of the TNG. For example, the Christchurch City Council was given \$4,500 for a W.R. Allen sculpture at QEII Park and \$3000 for a Rosemary Johnson sculpture at Christchurch International Airport in 1976 alone (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.11, p.21). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to ‘Conservation’ and denoted that:

“The National Party recognises the pressing needs for the conservation of New Zealand's cultural heritage, and as the Government, will increase grants to the Historic Places Trust;” (185)

The Government grant for the New Zealand Historic Places Trust increased from \$130,636 for 1974/5 to \$191,055 for 1975/6 (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.10, p.16). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final arts plank to be assessed related to ‘Art and Education’ and established that:

“A National Government will encourage closer liaison between the Education Department and the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, especially with regard to study and travel grants to teachers and specialists in the field of art, drama, music and dance in Training Colleges, Technical Institutes and Universities, and also in the wider use of school premises and facilities for out-of-school activities.” (186)

“The council believe[d] that students at the ballet and drama schools should be the responsibility of the Department of Education and that they should be eligible to receive the standard tertiary bursary”, but no extension of the bursary regulations in respect to them was made by the end of 1978 (AJHR 1978 Vol.6 G.11, pp.9-10). This plank is coded as unfulfilled. This means that two-thirds of the arts policy is coded as fulfilled.

5.1.3 Broadcasting and Communications

With only 21 pledges, broadcasting and communications is definitely one of the smaller policy areas and just two pledges were assessed from this area. The first of these related to the general area of ‘Broadcasting’ and asserted that:

“The two television channels and all publicly owned radio services will operate with maximum possible independence but within one State owned administrative organisation.” (111)

The independence of the radio services and television channels operating under the auspices of the BCNZ meant that they were “free to set their own salaries and terms and conditions of employment” (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 F.4, p.7) and there were “three independent divisions under separate directors-general, each with a high degree of autonomy on a day-to-day basis” (Day 2000, p.222). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other broadcasting and communications promise related to the ‘Radio’ sub-policy area and boasted:

“In addition to short-term warrants to cover trade fairs, etc., a short-term, and long-term special purpose broadcasting authorisation will, from time to time

be issued for the broadcasting of non-commercial, educational, cultural and religious programmes.” (112)

Legislation was passed in 1976 to fulfil this promise. It allowed for long-term shared-frequency warrants to be issued to non-profit making bodies for cultural, educational or religious purposes and for short-term authorisations to anyone for other purposes (Broadcasting Act 1976 NZS Vol.3, pp.1773-4). This means that both of the assessed broadcasting and communications promises were fulfilled resulting in a 100% record of implementation for this policy area.

5.1.4 Commerce

With only 22 commitments, this policy area was well below average in terms of size and only slightly larger than broadcasting and communications. However, like broadcasting and communications, two commitments were assessed for fulfilment. The first of these related to a ‘Joint Commercial-Consumer Working Party’ and claimed that:

“A National Government will set up a Joint Working Party consisting of Officers of the Consumer Institute and Trade Associations to recommend legislative and administrative procedures to provide better services for the consumer and fair and workable arrangements for the businessman.” (101)

The NZNP 1978 GEP concurred that “National [would] expand its policy which [had] brought the Consumers Institute and Trade Associations together in a series of working parties which [had] provided the Government with positive recommendations in the joint interests of consumers and commerce” (p.7). Given that policies can only be expanded if they are implemented, this commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other commerce plank related to ‘Export Services’ and made reference to a review of the ways in which the export services functions of the Export/Import Corporation could be provided by the Department of Trade and Industry and the ways in which the trading functions of the Corporation could be provided by private enterprise. It declared that:

“Following this review, in consultation with interested parties, a National Government will establish export institutions to increase the effectiveness of the Department of Trade and Industry; and will actively promote the export trade through private enterprise.” (102)

1976 did see the “progressive development and extension of the corporation’s activities” which included the establishment, in Australia, of “a New Zealand Trade Centre, which received enthusiastic support from a wide range of New Zealand companies, many of which [had] not previously exported” (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.32, p.5). This plank is coded as fulfilled. This means that like broadcasting and communications, both commerce planks were fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.5 Defence

With only 27 pledges, defence was also an under-represented policy area. Three of these were assessed and the first related to the ‘Size and Shape of Our Defence Forces’. It established that:

“A National Government will ensure the availability of ready-to-go professional forces capable of sustained operations.” (119)

The 1978 Defence Review provided that a “force would be maintained in readiness for possible overseas deployment consist[ing] of a battalion group of up to 1,000 personnel, based around 1 RNZIR” (Fenton 1998, p.165). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to ‘Planning’ and asserted that:

“A National Government will conduct a major review of Defence Policy to determine the nature and capabilities of the Armed Forces in the 1980s.” (119)

The NZNP 1978 GEP affirmed that “National [had] completed a major review of defence policy to determine the appropriate shape and capabilities of the Armed Forces into the 1980s” (p.8). The 1978 Defence Review mentioned above confirms that this promise was fulfilled.

The third and final defence commitment to be assessed related to ‘V.I.P. Flying’ and boasted that:

“As the personnel of the R.N.Z.A.F. are fully trained to perform V.I.P. flying, this work will be assigned to the Air Force.” (121)

The NZNP 1978 GEP confirmed that “as promised in 1975, National [has] enabled the R.N.Z.A.F. to perform V.I.P. flying” (p.8). This means that all of the assessed defence commitments were fulfilled with a 100% success rate.

5.1.6 Economic

With only 22 planks, like commerce, National’s economic policy was under-represented in the GEP. Like defence, three planks were assessed to determine fulfilment. The first two of these formed part of National’s ‘Short-Term Strategy’ for the economy. The first of these claimed that:

“The three years of the next Parliament will see economic policy very largely devoted to restoring New Zealand's shattered economy.” (96)

The NZNP 1978 GEP shows that “after three years of careful restraint under National the goal of single figure inflation [was] within sight, the external deficit [had] been reduced to around 3% of G.N.P., and the Government deficit [was] only 8.3% of G.N.P.” (p.9). This economic restoration indicates that the plank was fulfilled.

The other ‘Short-Term Strategy’ pledge declared that:

“A more flexible interest rate policy will be adopted and the controlled and uncontrolled markets will be brought closer together.” (97)

The NZNP 1978 GEP shows that this pledge was fulfilled as “National [had] introduced a flexible interest rate policy to provide attractive returns for savers” (p.9).

The third and final economic promise to be assessed related to National’s ‘Long-Term Economic Strategy’ and established that:

“National will recognise the vital role played by every section of productive industry, manufacturing, farming, building and construction, forestry, tourism, fishing, mining, as well as the transport and distribution sectors.” (99)

By 1978, a number of these ‘vital’ productive industries had fallen off National’s economic policy agenda. These included building and construction, mining, transport and distribution (NZNP 1978 GEP, p.9). This promise is coded as unfulfilled. This means that two-thirds of the economic policy is coded as fulfilled.

5.1.7 Education

With 90 education commitments, this is the fourth largest policy area in the 1975 Election Policy. Nine commitments were assessed, each falling under a different sub-policy area. The first commitment related to National’s education ‘Philosophy’ and asserted that:

“This policy, therefore, provides for the involvement of parents, educators and students in devising and implementing programmes that will promote sound family relationships, effective work, responsible citizenship, cultural enjoyment and adaptability to change.” (87)

Official statistics indicate that family relationships were in fact less sound in 1978 than in 1975 as the New Zealand divorce rate increase in 1978 made it the highest in the country’s history up to that point (McCluskey 1999, p.4). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Early Childhood Education’ and boasted that:

“We will, therefore continue the voluntary involvement of parents and community in early childhood activities.” (88)

The NZNP 1978 GEP shows that this plank was fulfilled as a continuation of it was reiterated thus illustrating that National had acted and believed “that early childhood care and education services should continue to operate as a partnership between parents, trained staff, voluntary organisations and the State” (p.11).

The third pledge related to ‘Continuing Learning’ and claimed that:

“A National Government will support the principle of an autonomous university system with funds channelled through an independent University Grants Committee.” (89)

In 1978, the University Grants Committee and the various university institutions were operating autonomously and reporting independent of the Ministry of Education as pledged (AJHR 1978 Vol.4 E.3, p.1).

The fourth promise related to ‘Community Learning’ and declared that:

“Recognising the need for adult retraining and special interest needs of adults, National will accordingly expand a more efficient educational, social and occupational guidance and counselling service for both students and adults.” (90)

On 1 April 1978, “a 5-year programme [was] approved in principle, propos[ing] an extension of vocational counsellors from the existing 7 centres into 16 centres servicing all of the department’s 22 districts” (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 G.1, p.11). However, this promise is coded as unfulfilled as the programme was not implemented before the 1978 General Election.

The fifth commitment related to ‘Maori Education’ and established that:

“The National Party believes in the importance of cultural interchange in a multi-cultural society and will seek to expand opportunities in the field of education for all New Zealanders.” (91)

According to Bill Renwick, the then Director-General of Education, “National did seek to expand opportunities in the field of education for all New Zealanders through policies such as community colleges in provincial areas, capturing adults and children in education initiatives and through REAP (Rural Education Activity Programme)” (pers. com. 8/11/06). “The general point that emerges from this is that the National government during the mid seventies was not simply being a ‘me-too’ administration. National, with Les Gandar, added the notion of the local educational programme which would be more flexible in its institutional arrangements, thus extending education and training opportunities even further into local communities” (ibid 7/5/07). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth plank related to ‘Pacific Islands Education’ and asserted that:

“In particular we will provide for the special needs of Pacific Islanders resident in New Zealand by encouraging Teacher Colleges to develop special training programmes to assist in the teaching of English to Pacific Islanders.”
(92)

The NZNP 1978 GEP was still promising to develop these special teaching programmes which indicates that this plank was not fulfilled (p.12).

The seventh pledge related to the additional transportation costs faced by the parents of those receiving a ‘Rural Education’ and boasted that:

“We will, therefore review the present levels of assistance to parents for transport.” (93)

The third Labour Government who increased the rates of the private transport allowances six days after National released their policy precipitated this pledge and implemented it themselves before National was elected (Education Department Confidential Circular 1975/4, 22 October 1975). Given that this does not appear to have been re-reviewed during National’s first term, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The eighth promise related to refresher leave as part of a drive towards increased ‘Professionalism’ and claimed that:

“This will be costly and difficult to implement but a National Government, believing in the principle, will gradually introduce such a policy initially by extending opportunities which currently exist over a much wider field.” (94)

The NZNP 1978 GEP promised to “further extend the policy of providing refresher leave for teachers” indicating that it had been extended during their first term (p.10). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The ninth and final education commitment to be assessed related to ‘Teaching and Learning Resources’ and declared that:

“A National Government, recognising the increasing importance of resource material in modern education, will in conjunction with the professional groups encourage the joint planning of new school and community facilities to give greater community use of school buildings and greater school use of community facilities.” (95)

The NZNP 1978 GEP reflected this encouragement by showing that “National [was] committed to the establishment of further community schools, and to more community oriented courses in selected schools” (p.10). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. This means that overall, only 56% of National’s education commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.8 Energy Resources

With just 31 planks, energy resources is a slightly under-represented policy area. Three of these planks were assessed for fulfilment. The first of these fell under the general policy area and established that:

“A National Government will ensure that there is proper emphasis given to environmental factors in plans for the use and development of energy resources;” (165)

In May 1978, the Ministry of Energy Resources stated in their ‘Goals and Guidelines’ that “the environmental implications of future energy supply patterns must be seen as

part of our overall development” and promised to “ensure that effective procedures [were] used to evaluate the environmental impacts associated with energy developments” (p.82). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to ‘Energy Conservation’ and asserted that:

“A National Government will aim to reduce New Zealand's dependence on expensive imported oil and oil products.” (166)

The NZNP 1978 GEP showed that “policies introduced over the [previous] three years [had] resulted in a dramatic reduction in our dependence on imported liquid fuels” (p.13). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final energy resources promise to be assessed related to ‘Nuclear Power’ and boasted that:

“While a good deal of work on such matters as safety factors, waste disposal, and environmental impact remains to be done, we will ensure that New Zealand scientists and power planning authorities are kept as well informed as possible on these topics and with regard to developments overseas.” (167)

Before the General Election in 1978, a 319 page Royal Commission of Inquiry Report on ‘Nuclear Power Generation in New Zealand’ was presented to the House of Representatives and made accessible to public bodies such matters as safety factors, waste disposal, and environmental impacts relative to nuclear power (AJHR 1978 Vol.7 H.4). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the energy resources promises are coded as fulfilled with a 100% success rate.

5.1.9 Environmental Policy

With 56 commitments in total, environmental policy was one of the more substantial policy areas and had six commitments assessed, all relating to different sub-policy areas. The first of these related to ‘Land’ and claimed that:

“Under National, development projects will be subject to plans which will ensure the most effective use of New Zealand's land as a regional resource.”
(176)

The NZNP 1978 GEP stated that “The Land Use Advisory Council [was only then] formulating a comprehensive national land use policy [involving] land resource advisory committees, operating at a regional level (p.15). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Trees’ and declared that:

“In addition to the regeneration of Beech, further exotic forests will be planted.” (177)

In addition to the regeneration of Beech, 11 new state exotic forests were planted between 1975-8 (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 C.3, pp.29-30 & 1979 Vol.4 C.3, pp.27-9). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Covenants’ with willing land owners in order to protect private land from the pressures of urban or coastal development and established that:

“The covenants will create farming or conservation Preserves.” (178)

The NZNP 1978 GEP confirms that this pledge was fulfilled with the passing of the Reserves Act in 1977. “The conservation covenant provision in the Reserves Act allows for negotiations to be undertaken with land owners for the preservation of specific areas of scenic, historic, or recreational value” (p.15).

The fourth promise related to ‘Water Eutrophication and Marine Spillage’ and asserted that:

“Positive and co-ordinated programmes for the preservation of rivers and lakes under threat of eutrophication will be undertaken.” (179)

By the end of National’s first term, their Minister for the Environment was still of the belief that this promise could be fulfilled, but that it had not been. In answer to a question on river protection from Mr Rogers, he replied: “I believe that a satisfactory

river protection policy can be implemented without a special Act. A protection policy would embrace water quality as well as quantity, and upper watersheds of rivers could be protected under such a policy” (Hon. V.S. Young NZPD Vol.420 1978, p.2977 emphasis added).

The fifth commitment related to ‘Urban Open Spaces’ and boasted that:

“In new urban areas reserve contributions from subdivisions will be directed towards land purchase for reserves in that area.” (180)

The Local Government Amendment Act 1978 fulfilled this commitment by including the following: “The council shall apply all reserves contributions received...For the purchase of land to be held as public reserves...in the locality in which the land included in the scheme plan is situated and for the improvement and development as reserves of the land so purchased” (NZS Vol.1, p.383).

The sixth and final environmental policy plank to be assessed related to ‘Environmental Impact Reports’ and claimed that:

“Environmental Impact Report procedures will be simplified without diminishing the rights of public objection.” (181)

EIR procedures were simplified and the Minister for the Environment announced the fulfilment of this plank in mid-1978. He said that “departments will now carry out their own environmental evaluations, and public input will be required” (Hon. V.S. Young NZPD Vol.418 1978, p.1577). This means that two-thirds of the environmental policy planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.10 Fishing

With only 21 pledges, fishing is one of the smaller policy areas and two of them were assessed for fulfilment. The first related to ‘Resource Development’ and declared that:

“In anticipation of the establishment of a 200 mile exclusive economic management zone and a 12 mile territorial sea, a National Government will

develop the local fishing industry while at the same time co-operating with other nations to utilise, by agreement, those resources not fully utilised locally.” (76)

While developing the local fishing industry, the NZNP 1978 GEP pledged to “continue to co-operate with other nations to utilise that proportion of the resource beyond the present capacity of the New Zealand fishing industry” (p.17 emphasis added). This 1978 pledged continuation indicates that the 1975 pledge was fulfilled.

The other fishing promise to be assessed related to ‘Fish Harvesting’ using box nets and established that:

“A National Government will closely evaluate this form of fish harvesting.” (77)

“Fish caught in the Whitianga box nets [were] sampled throughout [1976], and a paper on their age and size composition” was prepared (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 C.5, p.58). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Both fishing promises are coded as fulfilled resulting in a 100% success rate.

5.1.11 Forestry

With only 25 commitments, forestry is also one of the smaller policy areas, although three of these were assessed to determine fulfilment. The first related to ‘Exotic Production Forestry’ and asserted that:

“Financial incentives in the way of grants and taxation concessions for planting, development and maintenance will be available to landowners, lessees, co-operative forest ventures, voluntary organisations and local authorities undertaking approved forest programmes.” (72)

By late 1977, “the forestry encouragement grants scheme [was] available to all landholders who wish[ed] to undertake afforestation with any commercial species” (Hon. J.B. Bolger NZPD Vol.415 1977, p.4173). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank came under the ‘South Island Beech Forests’ sub-policy area, but was actually directed to those who were reliant on them for employment and boasted that:

“A National Government will investigate the establishment of several industries, geographically spread and providing employment and development over a wider area on the West Coast and in Southland.” (73)

In 1976, the West Coast and Southland received more regional development assistance than all other regions combined, indicating the fulfilment of this plank (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.14, p.16).

The third and final forestry pledge to be assessed related to ‘Recreation and Amenity Forests’ and claimed that:

“Belts of amenity forest will be planted along main highways and tourist routes which are adjoined by production forests.” (74)

“The evidence on the ground suggests that the policy was not implemented universally around the country. Senior staff in Transit New Zealand cannot remember any such policy being instructed or undertaken” (pers. com. with the Network Operations Division, National Office, Transit New Zealand, 1/12/06). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Altogether, two-thirds of the first term’s forestry pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.12 Health

Health was the second largest area in National’s 1975 Election Policy with 104 promises. This makes it almost three times the size of the average policy and produced 10 promises for assessment. These fell into nine different sub-policy areas. The first promise to be assessed was ‘For The Individual’ and declared that:

“A National Government will bring Health Services as much as possible, out into the community, through subsidies and grants designed to attract G.Ps and

other Health Service agencies to specific areas where additional resources are needed;" (60)

In 1976, the Minister of Health outlined the "Government assistance available to doctors wanting to set up practice in areas" where additional resources were needed. These took the form of: loan finance, incentives, bonuses, benefits, assistance, an employment subsidy, a mileage allowance and a free house and furniture etc (Hon. T.F. Gill NZPD Vol.404 1976, p.1017). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment was 'For Doctors' and established that:

"A National Government will introduce an Urban Practice Nurse Scheme paralleling the rural scheme for community care based on the General Practitioner service which will emphasise care for the elderly and the mother with a young family on a domiciliary basis." (61)

The urban practice nurse scheme was actually "introduced by the Labour Government in the 1974 Budget" (Mr Hunt NZPD Vol.406 1976, p.2714). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The third and fourth planks are 'For Nurses' and the first of these asserted that:

"National will discuss with the Nurses Association and with nurses, and request the Board of Health to review conditions of employment, remuneration and recent developments in nursing education." (62)

No mention at all is made of any review for nurses in the Board of Health report for 1976 even though the matters that they were making recommendations on are itemised. Reports do not even appear for the following two years and it seems as though this review never took place (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 E.10, p.11). The plank is consequently coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge 'For Nurses' related to retaining qualified nurses in the profession and boasted that:

“To achieve this National will employ suitable persons to provide messenger, clerical and house-keeping duties so that nurses can concentrate on providing the services and exercising the skills they are trained for.” (63)

These people were called health assistants and their employment began in 1976 thus conserving the time of nurses to focus on tasks requiring professional judgment (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 E.10, p.36). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth health promise related to ‘Hospitals – Developments’ and claimed that:

“Developments will include the training and retention of additional theatre staff and facilities, including positive steps to attract the return to nursing of nursing staff, as essential to the reduction of the hospital waiting lists.” (64)

By September 1976, the Minister of Health was able to report that “a shortage of operating theatre staff [was] not claimed in most parts of the country. A training scheme for anaesthetic technicians [was] expected to commence in March 1977. This [would] help to free nursing staff for nursing duties” (Hon. T.F. Gill NZPD Vol.406 1976, p.2714). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth commitment was ‘For Medical Education’ and declared that:

“A National Government will work to improve the quality of medical education and to improve the doctor/patient ratio as the most important basis for medical care.” (65)

While the number of doctors increased, there were also important modifications to the quality of medical education during National’s first term. One of these improvements saw “an introduction of the student to people at an earlier stage of the programme. This allow[ed] the student to more readily apply basic knowledge to the clinical problem” (AJHR Vol.2 1977 E.10, p.57). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The seventh plank was ‘For The Aged’ and established that:

“The aged will not be required to dispose of their capital assets, either financial or property, as a pre-requisite to care in a geriatric hospital.” (66)

Gerontologist, Margaret Guthrie, with reference to this plank said: “that was implemented. In those days, there was a distinction between continuing hospital level care and residential care. The [plank] related to long term hospital care which was administered by the then Health Dept. and which became income, but not asset tested in the late 1970s” (pers. com. 5/12/06). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The eighth pledge related to ‘Community Medicine’ and with reference to community-based medical services asserted that:

“Support and guidance for these Community Medical Services will be discussed with all Hospital Boards, some of whom already administer efficient Extra Mural Hospitals.” (68)

“Because of the implications of community health projects for the health service generally, district health offices and hospital boards [were] asked by the Government to set up in each district a co-ordinating committee on community health care. Committees consist[ed] of the principal medical, nursing, and administrative officers of each agency, and meetings [were] chaired either by the medical officer of health or the hospital board director of extramural services” (AJHR 1978 Vol.4 E.10, p.11). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The ninth promise related to ‘Family Planning’ and boasted that:

“To improve the family life of the people of New Zealand, assistance will be offered to New Zealand Family Planning Associations, religious, and voluntary organisations, to maintain staff and establish family planning clinics.” (70)

“The vote for the New Zealand Family Planning Association [alone] increased, under the National Government, from \$60,000 to \$264,000” (Marilyn Waring NZPD Vol.404 1976, p.1489). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The tenth and final health commitment to be assessed was ‘For Other Needs’ and claimed that:

“A National Government will consider expansion of the physiotherapy subsidy.” (71)

Changes to the physiotherapy subsidy occurred in 1974 and 1979, but not during the first term of the TNG (Scrymgeour et. al. 2000, p.66). The Department of Health's annual reports during the period do not refer to considering an expansion of it either, so this commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 70% of the first term's health commitments were coded as fulfilled.

5.1.13 Housing

The third largest policy area in 1975 was housing. It contained 92 planks and nine of these were assessed. The first three of these related to 'Home Ownership'. The first of these declared that:

"A National Government will undertake regular reviews of the public sector security ratios observable by lending institutions to ensure that such ratios relate realistically to the needs of the market and so that the institutions concerned can make an appropriate contribution to the private sector support of housing finance." (49)

According to the Minister of Housing, National's objective was to "make home ownership possible for all of those willing to earn and save for it. In pursuit of [this] aim the Government made two major adjustments of public sector security ratios" (Hon. E.S.F. Holland NZPD Vol.410 1977, p.135). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second 'Home Ownership' pledge related to the allocation of Government Second Mortgages and established that:

"Priority will be given in those cases where the first mortgagee offers his mortgage on the basis that interest only will be payable for the first five years and that thereafter the mortgage will be on a table basis over a period of not less than 10 years." (50)

While it has not been possible to find a reference to the internal policies that determined the allocation of second mortgage finance, it is evident that there was a substantial shift towards the Government-owned POSB as a source for second mortgages during the first term of the TNG. For example, this increased from 19.5%

in 1977 to 66.9% in 1978. In addition, the table mortgage option also increased significantly from 59% in 1977 to 81.3% in 1978 (Housing Corporation 1979, pp. 35-8). These changes indicate the degree of favourability and freedom of access to second mortgages through the POSB and this pledge is consequently coded as fulfilled.

The third promise referring to the objective of 'Home Ownership' asserted that:

"This will be facilitated by Mortgage Banking and Mortgage Certificates."
(51)

By March 1978, this idea had fallen out of favour because the National Housing Commission had advised in their Five Yearly Report that "in the New Zealand situation where there is a diversity of both institutional and non-institutional lenders offering mortgages, the introduction of a secondary market through mortgage banking may not be warranted" (p.135). This was therefore not introduced and the promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to 'Home Ownership Savings' and boasted that:

"Contributions to Home Ownership Savings Account will be deductible from tax assessable income up to a maximum of \$2000 per annum where the money is applied for the purpose of an owner-occupied first home." (52)

This commitment was fulfilled with the 1976 Budget announcement that "contributions to these accounts will be deductible from assessable income for tax purposes up to a maximum of \$2,000 per annum and \$10,250 per account" (AJHR 1976 Vol.1 B.6, p.34).

The fifth plank related to 'State Housing' and claimed that:

"Existing tenancies will be secured, but income related rent reviews will be made annually." (53)

While income related rent reviews occurred annually, “existing tenants [were] given the option of retaining their existing tenancies” or converting to a new six-year scheme tied to the option to buy (ibid, p.36). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth pledge related to ‘Those in Service and Tied Accommodation’ and declared that:

“State servants on transfer and State servants in service accommodation will be encouraged to join the Home Ownership Savings Scheme or if their incomes come within State House Rental Criteria, the Tenancy Savings Scheme.” (54)

There appears to have been no special encouragement for state servants in service accommodation to join the Home Ownership Savings Scheme as “such finance [was] only available to them on the same terms and conditions as those which appl[ied] to other citizens” (AJHR 1977 Vol.3 G.3, p.14). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The seventh promise related to ‘House Transfer Incentives’ with reference to older people selling their houses to younger people with growing families in order to make better use of the housing stock and established that:

“These transactions will be exempt from stamp duty and removal expenses of the older persons will be met by the Government.” (55)

This promise appears to have been fulfilled with removals covered and the Stamp and Cheque Duties Amendment Act 1977 stating that “no conveyance duty shall be payable on any instrument of conveyance if the Commissioner is satisfied that the instrument conveys a large family home from the transferor or transferors, being the occupants of the home and being either the sole occupant or older persons, to any person or persons having a growing family” (NZS Vol.3, p.1940).

The eighth commitment related to a ‘Building Code Review’ with reference to common local body building by-laws and asserted that:

“The Government will encourage the streamlining of these by-laws to produce a national consistency.” (56)

Although a national consistency was not produced until 1991, the process of streamlining these by-laws commenced with “preliminary research [which] was carried out by the School of Architecture at Victoria University of Wellington in 1978” (pers. com. with Bill Porteous - Chief Policy Adviser Department of Building and Housing, 1/12/06). Given that the Government funded this research and that encouragement only was committed to during the first term, this commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The ninth and final housing plank to be assessed related to ‘Pensioner Housing’ and boasted that:

“Allocations of tenancies will be the responsibility of the local authorities in conjunction with the Department of Social Welfare.” (58)

While it has been difficult to identify tenancy allocation procedures from the 1970s, it is clear that the on-going long-term administration of pensioner housing did rest with those groups sponsoring the flats and their tenants such as local authorities and the Department of Social Welfare, but the degree of co-operation between them on these matters is unclear (AJHR 1978 Vol.2 B.13, p.24). However, local authorities did take primary responsibility for administering their building and occupancy so this plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 78% of the first term’s housing planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.14 Human Rights

With only 30 pledges, human rights was one of the smaller policy areas. Three of these were assessed and all of them were in reference to a human rights commission. The first related to National’s individual human rights ‘Philosophy’ and claimed that:

“The third National Government will accordingly establish a Human Rights Commission based on the institution of the Ombudsman to consider complaints and bring the exercise of power under scrutiny.” (13)

The Human Rights Commission Act 1977 “established a commission to be called the Human Rights Commission”, identified its nature and specified its functions as pledged (Rangi Knowledge-Basket 2006a). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to the ‘Structure’ of the Commission, referring to the appointments of its Commissioners and declared that:

“The terms of each appointment will be the same as the present Ombudsman.” (13)

The Act stated that the “term of office of appointed Commissioners [was] a term not exceeding five years” (Rangi Knowledge-Basket 2006b). This mirrored the term of office outlined in the Ombudsmen Act 1975 and thus fulfilled the promise.

The third and final human rights commitment related to the ‘Functions’ of the Commission, referring to the extended jurisdiction of Commission Ombudsmen as compared to the role introduced by the 1975 Act and established that:

“The extended jurisdiction will initially require Ombudsmen to investigate unlawful discrimination and breaches of human rights, by reason of race, colour, sex, religious beliefs or ethnic or national origins, in employment;” (14)

The 1977 Act stated that “it shall be unlawful for any person who is an employer to refuse to employ any person by reason of the sex, marital status, or religious or ethical belief of that person” (Rangi Knowledge-Basket 2006c). Noticeably missing from this list is race, colour and ethnic or national origin. This commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of National’s human rights commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.15 Immigration

Immigration was marginally smaller than human rights with 28 planks, three of which were assessed. The first of these related to ‘Numbers’, referring to the NZ Government’s negotiations with other governments affected by National’s immigration policy and asserted that:

“It will also initiate discussions with the Governments of the Cook and Niue Islands, and the administration of the Tokelau Islands, who have a special relationship with New Zealand.” (31)

The annual immigration reports for 1976-8 do not record any such discussions having taken place. “Discussions [were held] with the Governments of Fiji and Western Samoa,” but New Zealand’s overseas territories were not mentioned (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.1, p.11). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge related to ‘Visitors Permits’ and boasted that:

“They will not carry the right of permanent residence and will not normally be convertible into residential permits.” (32)

In relation to this pledge, the Minister of Immigration said; “I have read out what the 1975 National manifesto stated, and we are doing what the manifesto said” (Hon. T.F. Gill NZPD Vol.417 1978, p.399). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final immigration promise to be assessed related to new procedures required to attain ‘Residential Permits’ and claimed that:

“Procedures will include examination of the capacity of the individual immigrant and family to adapt to New Zealand society.” (33)

In relation to this promise, the Minister of Immigration said; “Current policy for permanent entry to New Zealand accepts that one factor that facilitates successful settlement in New Zealand is fluency in English. Where possible, applicants for permanent entry are interviewed by an officer of the nearest New Zealand overseas post, to assess this and other factors” (Hon. T.F. Gill NZPD Vol.417 1978, p.852). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the first term’s immigration promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.16 Industrial Relations

With 63 commitments, industrial relations was one of the bigger policy areas and six of these were assessed. The first of these related to National's 'Summary' of industrial relations policy and declared that:

"Safe and suitable working conditions will be insisted on and, if necessary, enforced." (21)

The 1976 inspections report had this to say about the enforcement of safe and suitable working conditions; "There were 32 prosecutions against employers, 24 more than last year" (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.1, p.18). This increase suggests that the commitment was fulfilled.

The second plank related to 'Rights' and established that:

"The industrial rights of people include a fair reward related to skills, responsibilities, a share in increased productivity and conditions of work that will provide a basis for a satisfactory individual and family life;" (23)

By 1978, the Labour Department was reporting that their workload had increased because of "the continuing deterioration in employment conditions" (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 G.1, p.5). This deterioration in conditions of work suggests that the basis National had agreed to provide was unsatisfactory and this plank is therefore coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to 'Arbitration and Conciliation' and asserted that:

"The Labour Department will be strengthened by creating separate divisions of safety; education, apprenticeship and welfare; employment; Industrial Court and Council; the Registrar of Unions, and administrative divisions." (24)

In 1978, National replaced the Industrial Court (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 G.1, p.7). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth promise related to 'Industrial Rights' and referring to the secret ballot boasted that:

“All workers who would be bound by the provisions of any award covering their work will be able to vote in a secret ballot carried out by the Labour Department to determine by majority vote whether membership of their union shall be compulsory or voluntary.” (25)

The Industrial Relations Amendment Act 1978 fulfilled this promise by enacting that “the union shall not seek the insertion of an unqualified preference provision in any award or collective agreement unless the majority of the valid votes cast in a secret ballot or secret ballots of the financial members of the union present at the special meeting or special meetings is in favour of the insertion of an unqualified preference provision in the award or collective agreement” (NZS 1978 Vol.1, pp.342-3).

The fifth commitment related to ‘The Rule of Law’ and claimed that:

“A National Government will ensure the control of union affairs and finances by rules and methods agreed by the membership and subject to regular audit by the Industrial Commission.” (27)

In 1978, National replaced the Industrial Commission (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 G.1, p.7). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The sixth and final industrial relations promise to be assessed related to ‘Compulsory Unionism’ and referring to union membership exemption declared that:

“A member granted such exemption will lose all voting privileges in the union;” (29)

Section 9 of the Industrial Relations Amendment Act 1978 makes it clear that for a vote on unqualified preference to be valid, it must be cast by a “financial member of the union” (NZS 1978 Vol.1, p.343). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, only half of the first term’s industrial relations promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.17 Internal Affairs

With only 21 commitments, internal affairs was one of the smaller policy areas and two of these were assessed for fulfilment. The first related to ‘Civil Defence’ and established that:

“A National Government will encourage community participation in all aspects of civil defence.” (188)

The NZNP 1978 GEP committed to “continue to strongly encourage community and local authority participation in civil defence” (p.36 emphasis added). This ongoing commitment to community participation indicates that the commitment was fulfilled.

The other internal affairs plank related to ‘Gaming and Lotteries’ and asserted that:

“National will review and revise the Gaming Act, to ensure that it is suitable for present requirements.” (189)

This plank was fulfilled with the enactment of the Gaming and Lotteries Act 1977 which made “better provision for the conduct of games of chance, prize competitions, and lotteries for amusement and for the raising of funds for certain purposes while continuing to prohibit the conduct of such activities for commercial gain, to continue the prohibition of book-making, and to consolidate and amend the Gaming Act 1908 and its amendments” (NZS 1977 Vol.2, p.1099). Overall, both internal affairs planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.18 Law and Order

With 51 pledges, law and order was one of the larger policy areas and five of these were assessed. The first related to National’s ‘Philosophy’ on law and order and boasted that:

“We will support the police in their endeavour to maintain law and order.” (158)

By 1978, “National ha[d] given full support to the police in their endeavours to maintain law and order” (NZNP 1978 GEP, p.33). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to ‘Penal Institutions’ and claimed that:

“The prison service will have the full backing of a National Government in carrying out penal policy.” (159)

The NZNP 1978 GEP promised to “continue its strong support of the prison service, with continued emphasis on staff training and adequate housing and conditions for those working in remote areas” (p.32 emphasis added). This ongoing promise of support indicates that the promise was fulfilled.

The third commitment related to ‘Family Law’ and after discussing modifications to matrimonial law declared that:

“National also recognises the need for major changes in the law relating to maintenance and custody, and will call for a comprehensive study of these areas.” (160)

With reference to the years 1975-8, the Ministry of Justice Policy Manager has said that “there is no evidence of a comprehensive study of custody laws during the period specified, nor evidence of any significant legislative reform. This is supported by a letter from the then Minister of Justice to another Member of Parliament which said: ‘The Government intends to review the provisions of the Guardianship Act, but this is unlikely to be this year’ (letter dated 5 September 1978)” (Numan-Parsons pers. com. 1/2/07). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth plank related to ‘Defamation Law’ and referring to the National Party established that:

“It accepts that there are imperfections in the existing law relating to defamation, and will look at proposals for making it more fair and certain, and less inhibiting.” (162)

This plank was fulfilled with the publication of the ‘Recommendations on the law of defamation: Report of the Committee on Defamation’ in 1977. While it is not clear to

what extent the National Party looked at the proposals it contained, it seems reasonable to assume that at least the National Minister of Justice (David Thomson) would have given it consideration.

The fifth and final law and order pledge related to the ‘Participation of Women in the Judicial System’ and asserted that:

“A National Government will review the procedure for making judicial appointments to ensure that suitably qualified women are given the same consideration as men.” (163)

With reference to the pledged review, on the 4th of November 1977, the Minister of Justice stated “that ha[d] already been done” (Hon. David Thomson NZPD Vol.415 1977, p.4218). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 80% of the first term’s law and order pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.19 Local Government

With 36 promises, local government is exactly the average size for policy areas in the NZNP 1975 GEP. Four of these were assessed and the first related to ‘Ad Hoc Bodies’ and boasted that:

“National will remove certain specialist and technical ad hoc bodies such as Harbour, Electricity, River, Catchment, Drainage and Pest Destruction Boards from the Local Government Act.” (79)

This promise was fulfilled with the enactment of the Local Government Amendment Act 1976 which listed “Catchment Boards, Drainage Boards, Electric Power Boards, Harbour Boards, Pest Destruction Boards and River Boards [as] classes of local authorities or public bodies in respect of which [the] Commission has jurisdiction only if requested” (NZS Vol.1, p.721). This does remove the direct and automatic application of the Act to these boards creating a very different relationship to that which existed relative to the 1974 Act.

The second commitment related to the ‘Rates Tax Deductible’ policy which the third Labour Government had maintained and claimed that:

"Rates concessions will continue for the same categories of beneficiaries, using the same means test and at the same rates as are applicable when National assumes office." (1)

This was fulfilled in National's 1977 Budget when it was confirmed that "the existing rate relief scheme, operated through the Department of Internal Affairs for low-income earners, w[ould] be continued" (AJHR 1977 Vol.1 B.6, p.30).

The third plank related to 'Assistance for Sewerage, Water Supply and Drainage Schemes' and referring to deferred interest loans for sewerage treatment facilities to protect waters of national importance declared that:

"The same type of assistance will be provided for communities with small permanent but high fluctuating populations to assist in the provision of adequate sewerage treatment and disposal facilities." (80)

This appears to have been fulfilled with examples of this type of assistance being granted to communities with small permanent, but high fluctuating populations such as Kapiti (\$2.4 million in 1976) and Otaki (\$2.1 million in 1977) (AJHR 1976-7 Vol.1 B.17, p.5).

The fourth and final pledge related to the 'Payment of Local Body Accounts through Post Office' agencies and established that:

"The Post Office will provide facilities for the collection of local bodies' accounts, where desirable, including rate and power bill payments, and will distribute such payments to the appropriate local authority." (82)

In the 1978 Agency Services report, neither rates nor power bill payments are listed as part of the extent of the work done by the Post Office (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 F.1, p.13). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 75% of the first term's local government pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.20 Manufacturing

With 54 promises, manufacturing is one of the more substantial policy areas and five of these were assessed for fulfilment. The first related to National's 'Philosophy' towards manufacturing and asserted that:

"A National Government will pursue a policy of industrial development based on the need for greater self-reliance in a world of change and uncertainty."
(6)

Between 1976-7, the number of industrial development staff employed by the Department of Trade and Industry dropped from 63 to 49 (AJHR 1976-7 Vol.3 G.14, pp.62-3). This does not indicate the pursuance of a policy of industrial development and this promise is consequently coded as unfulfilled.

The second commitment related to 'Research and Development' and referring to a National government boasted that:

"As a basis for continuing modernisation it will aim at developing research programmes similar to those on which agriculture and forestry are based and will immediately expand such work in the universities and in DSIR with the aim of establishing major research and development centres to support industry." (6)

The "DSIR's assistance to the manufacturing industry [did] continue to expand" with a commitment to the key elements outlined above being fulfilled (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.21, p.30).

The third plank related to the establishment and functions of a 'Small Business Agency' and claimed that:

"It will work in close co-operation with Regional Councils, and independent enterprise, to stimulate small business." (8)

While working with independent enterprise, by the end of 1978, “arrangements [had also] been formalised with 7 of the 11 Regional Development Councils who indicated quite strongly that they would welcome the opportunity to act as initial points of local contact for small businesses in areas where the SBA [was] not represented” (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.26A, p.4). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to the ‘Inventions Development Authority’ and declared that:

“It will work with Government, educational institutions and independent agencies for the more rapid and effective development of New Zealand inventions.” (8)

Working with the Government and other institutions and agencies, “the authority’s task of promoting the development and commercial exploitation of inventions where the public interest so require[d was] actively pursued during [1976]” (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.17, p.3). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final manufacturing promise related to ‘Tariffs’ and established that:

“A National Government will review the nation's tariff requirements in this time of uncertainty in world trade and finance to ensure a desirable rate of growth for each industry.” (10)

“A number of developments and initiatives [took] place relative to the [Customs] department’s functions [in 1976] which include[d] responsibility for a comprehensive tariff review” (AJHR 1976 Vol.1 B.24, p.4). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 80% of the first term’s manufacturing promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.21 Maori Affairs

With 44 commitments, Maori affairs is another major policy area and four of them were assessed. The first of these related to ‘Finance’ and asserted that:

“The Rural Bank will be required to join with the Maori Trustee and the Maori Affairs Department to make finance available to purchase land for encouraging economic farming proposals for Maori farmers;” (38)

The Department of Maori Affairs reported the fulfilment of this commitment in these words: “As a result of Government policy, whereby the Rural Banking and Finance Corporation is to become more involved in lending to Maori farmers, incorporations that require finance and which are not already associated with the Department of Maori Affairs are now referred to the Rural Bank” (AJHR 1977 Vol.2 E.13, p.10).

The second plank related to ‘Mutual Respect’ and boasted that:

“To encourage mutual respect and standing for Maori and European cultures in New Zealand, National will extend opportunities for the understanding and acceptance of different cultural values and promote the use of Maori art motifs on public buildings, New Zealand publicity, stamps, etc..” (39)

While promoting the use of Maori art motifs on public buildings and in New Zealand publicity, a set of pictorial postage stamps was also issued promoting this theme on the 24th of November 1976. The 11-14c stamps depicted a Maori knife and flute and some clubs (Jury 2004, p.19). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Education’ and claimed that:

“National will encourage and facilitate the re-entry of teenagers and adults into the education system;” (40)

The Minister of Education illustrated the fulfilment of this pledge with the following oral answer to a question: “The Government is determined that all New Zealanders should have the opportunity to ‘second chance’ education. New proposals and the expansion of existing provisions are being developed to facilitate this policy. Specifically, the Government is expanding the re-entry programme of adults to secondary schools introduced by the previous Administration. Results have been very encouraging. This year 146 secondary schools are accepting adult students – 91 more than last year. A youth re-entry programme has been approved for introduction at the Hawke’s Bay Community College” (Hon. L.W. Gandar NZPD Vol.404 1976, p.784).

The fourth and final Maori affairs promise related to the ‘Urban Challenge’ facing Maori and referring to helping Maori offenders to understand the judicial system declared that:

“National will ensure that duty solicitors are available at courts to advise offenders where required.” (40)

This promise was fulfilled to such an extent that by the end of 1976 “a duty solicitor receive[d] a greater remuneration for a morning’s work in court than a solicitor who appear[ed] on a plea in mitigation under the Offenders Legal Aid Act” (Mr D.M.J. Jones NZPD Vol.406 1976, p.2946). This greater remuneration acted as an incentive to ensure the promised availability. Overall, 100% of the first term’s Maori affairs promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.22 Mining

With only 14 commitments, mining is a minor policy area with two of these assessed for fulfilment. The first related to National’s ‘Philosophy’ around mining and referring to the coal and mineral industries established that:

“A National Government will take steps to encourage these industries so that they can develop soundly in the future.” (169)

One of the ways this commitment was fulfilled saw “loans and grants made to assist the mining industry.” Some examples of this were loans of \$23,000 to Kiwi Collieries Ltd “to enable the company to resume coal mining activities” and \$121,000 to Kanieri Gold Dredging Ltd “to allow the company to continue operations” (AJHR 1977 Vol.1 C.2, p.8).

The other mining plank related to ‘Finance’ and asserted that:

“Because of the high cost of mineral exploration and development, a National Government will provide incentives to facilitate financial and technical investment where development is of national significance.” (171)

This plank appears not to have been fulfilled with multinational companies balking at the Government's mineral taxation regimes indicating that they acted as a disincentive to development (Hon. G.F. Gair NZPD Vol.417 1978, p.196). Overall, half of the first term's mining planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.23 National Development

With only 18 pledges, national development was half the average policy size. Two of these were assessed. The first related to the establishment of a 'Commission for the Future' and boasted that:

"A National Government, recognising the need for long term thinking and planning, will establish a Commission for the Future in association with the Minister of Science." (153)

The New Zealand Planning Act 1977 "established a commission to be known as the Commission for the Future" in fulfilment of this pledge (NZS Vol.2, p.951).

The other national development promise related to National's 'Strategy for Industrial Growth' and claimed that:

"A National Government will pursue a policy of industrial development based on the need for greater self-reliance in a world of change and uncertainty and on the importance of a flourishing industrial sector as an essential element of a modern economy." (155)

As mentioned previously, the National Government cut industrial development staff numbers during its first term thus indicating a lack of pursuit in this area and a promise unfulfilled. Overall, half of the first term's national development promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.24 New Zealand Foreign Policy

With only 27 commitments, New Zealand foreign policy is a minor policy area with three of these assessed. However, this is because the NZNP 1975 GEP separated

foreign affairs into two policy areas, the one under present consideration and the one following, which focuses on the South Pacific. The first New Zealand foreign policy commitment related to 'The Anzac Partnership' and declared that:

"The National Party believes the Anzac relationship is vital to New Zealand and will, with Australia, work for the restoration of confidence in Nafta and a more balanced partnership." (114)

"The balance of trade between Australia and New Zealand continued in Australia's favour during 1976, but New Zealand's situation improved with the trade ratio of 1:2.65 in 1975 moving to 1:1.65 in 1976" (AJHR 1977 Vol.3 G.14, p.50). This significant movement towards a more balanced partnership sees this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to 'Asia' and established that

"The National Party recognises the wide range and diverse requirements of our relations with Asia with its growing influence in world affairs, and will accordingly develop New Zealand's links with the great powers of Asia, particularly Japan, as a world centre for trade, industry and technology, and with China as one of the keys to the balance of power in Asia and the Pacific." (116)

"The importance New Zealand attaches to its relations with Japan was underlined by the Prime Minister's visit in April 1976. A new dimension was given to New Zealand's relations with China as a result of the visit of the Prime Minister and Mrs Muldoon in late April and early May 1976" (AJHR 1977 Vol.1 A.1, pp.15-16). This illustration of the development of links with Japan and China sees this plank coded as fulfilled.

The third and final New Zealand foreign policy pledge related to 'International Organisations and Programmes' and asserted that:

"The National Party believes New Zealand has interests and responsibilities as an independent, outward-looking member of the world community and will promote the strengthening of international law and order and New Zealand's United Nations peace-keeping capacity." (117)

While New Zealand continued to contribute to United Nations peace-keeping operations, it also “signed, ratified, accepted, approved, acceded to [or] adhered to” a total of 36 international legal agreements between 1 April 1976 and 31 March 1977 alone (AJHR 1977 Vol.1 A.1, pp.44-7). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the first term’s New Zealand foreign policy pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.25 New Zealand Foreign Policy – South Pacific Affairs

With exactly the same number of promises as New Zealand foreign policy, South Pacific affairs presented only two of these for assessment. The first related to ‘Social’ progress in South Pacific states and boasted that:

“A National Government will assist the developing states of the region in their plans for social progress, in particular by programmes to assist, establish or extend electricity supply.” (129)

Between April – June 1976, the New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review reported that in the South Pacific “considerable aid [was being] channelled to infrastructural improvements like exploiting hydro-electricity potential” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1976 Issue 2, p.90). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other South Pacific affairs commitment related to the ‘Housing’ of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand and claimed that:

“A National Government will provide assistance for housing loans in line with Maori housing policy.” (131)

“The [Maori Affairs] department provide[d] housing assistance for Polynesian Pacific Islanders who [were] New Zealand citizens or who ha[d] lived permanently in New Zealand for 5 years” (AJHR 1978 Vol.4 E.13, p.7). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both New Zealand foreign policy – South Pacific affairs commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.26 Overseas Trade Policy 1975

With 25 planks, overseas trade was a minor policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Markets’ and declared that:

“A National Government will pay special attention to fostering the trade of the Pacific Basin and supporting the efforts of private enterprise through the Pacific Basin Economic Council.” (173)

Of the 24 Pacific Basin countries with which New Zealand traded between 1975-7, half of these increased bilateral trade during the period, while the other half decreased it (AJHR 1978 Vol.6 G.14, pp.51-2). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The other overseas trade pledge related to ‘Trade Services and Promotion’ and established that:

“A National Government will take every opportunity to advance New Zealand's trading prospects abroad and in particular will build up the Trade Commissioner service with well trained and commercially oriented staff, and open up new trade posts in countries where worthwhile export opportunities can be developed.” (174)

Between 1976-8, the number of Trade Commissioner Service staff increased from 169 to 185 and two new posts were opened in Bahrain and Seoul (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.14, p.63 & 1978 Vol.6 G.14, p.57). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, half of the first term’s overseas trade pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.27 Post Office

With only 17 promises, the Post Office was less than a quarter of the average policy size, but still two of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Telecommunications’ and asserted that:

“The National Government will speed up the cabling programme and reduce waiting lists for automatic telephone connections.” (42)

While the cabling programme was expedited, waiting lists were also reduced for automatic telephone connections. For example, “there were 25,793 applicants awaiting [this] service at 31 March 1978, 12.8 percent fewer than at 31 March 1977” (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 F.1, pp.7-8). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other Post Office commitment related to ‘National Superannuation and Social Security Payments’ and referring to this being direct credited to POSB accounts boasted that:

“People away from home - such as those on holiday or living temporarily with relatives, will thus be able to draw National Superannuation and Social Security benefits at the nearest Post Office.” (43)

“The Post Office Savings Bank had from October 1975 provided the facility for direct crediting of the Universal Superannuation benefit to savings bank accounts at a 28-day frequency and with the introduction of the National Superannuation scheme in February 1977 continued to provide direct credit facilities in the case of this benefit, at a 14-day frequency” (AJHR 1977 Vol.3 F.1, p.3). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Both of the first term’s Post Office commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.28 Railways

At only a third of the average policy size, railways 12 planks are represented by two that were assessed. The first claimed that:

“A National Government will in co-operation with railways staff provide upgraded facilities and services and an efficient speedy rail system linking major centres.” (133)

A railways report from the period claims “that the business of the department [was] efficiently and economically carried out” and that in 1978, “projects completed during

the year included major station buildings at Taumarunui and Invercargill, a new freight terminal at Taneatua, a new station building at Mangatainoka, a signals depot at Springfield, staff amenity buildings at Wellington, Athol, Dunedin, and Spring Creek, a new telephone exchange at Blenheim, the re-roofing of some buildings at the Otahuhu workshops, the provision of improved heating systems at a number of workshops, and a new compressor building at the Hillside workshops in Dunedin.” In addition, a number of rail bridges were reconstructed, earthworks for deviations were completed, traffic controls were extended and signals depots built (AJHR 1978 Vol.5 F.7, p.13). These upgraded facilities provide evidence that this plank was fulfilled.

The other railways pledge declared that:

“A National Government will review rail freight rates on assuming office.”
(134)

The Minister of Transport stated that rail freight rates increased four times between 1 February 1976 and 4 December 1977. This represented a compounded increase of 99.27 percent (Hon. C.C.A. McLachlan NZPD Vol.417 1978, p.455). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Both of the first term’s railways pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.29 Recreation and Sport

With 22 promises, recreation and sport was almost twice the size of railways, but still a minor policy area with two of these assessed also. The first related to ‘Sporting Tours’ and established that:

“Sporting organisations will be free to associate with any sporting groups from other countries regardless of race, colour, creed or internal politics.”
(84)

In 1978, National indicated that this promise had been fulfilled by stating that “decisions on international sporting contacts [would] continue to be made by the sporting bodies concerned and not by the Government” (NZNP 1978 GEP, p.44 emphasis added).

The other recreation and sport commitment related to the ‘Functions of the Council’ for Recreation and Sport and asserted that:

“The Council will be asked to investigate the merit of "per capita" grants to individual recreational and sporting organisations.” (84)

The Council’s reports for the period make no reference to this request and in fact record that although discussions were held with “national associations of recreation and sport groups,” these were intended “to ensure that groups ma[d]e the best possible use of the funds available under the national scheme”, rather than investigating the merits of it (AJHR 1978 Vol.4 E.20, p.11). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, half of the first term’s recreation and sport commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.30 Regional Development

At two-thirds the average policy size with 24 planks, regional development also only had two of these assessed. The first related to the ‘Minister and Regional Development Secretariat’ and boasted that:

“National will ensure that the decision making process is streamlined, and that the Regional Development Councils are given a greater say in determining the pattern of development for their own region.” (136)

The 1976 Regional Development Report suggests that National did ensure this. “During the year all councils became involved in the preparation of regional resource surveys. The purpose of these [was] to provide a thorough evaluation of the natural and human resources of each region, and to give an opportunity for regional representatives to indicate to Central Government what they themselves want in the way of future economic and social development” (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.14, p.17). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other regional development pledge related to ‘Government Support for Regional Development’ and claimed that:

“National will expand the scientific advisory services and provide research and development grants as a basis for development.” (137)

This appears to have been fulfilled as the budgets of a number of services were expanded and “interest by manufacturers in the Industrial Research and Development Grants Scheme [was] sustained in 1976-7. There were about 230 applications compared with 212 in the previous year” (AJHR 1977 Vol.3 G.14, p.20). Both of the first term’s regional development pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.31 Science

With only 17 promises, science is another minor policy area and once again, two of these were assessed. The first related to the idea of a ‘Science Future’ and declared that:

“Because of the part science will play in every phase of future development, a National Government will encourage all endeavours by scientists and technologists to co-operate with the Commission for the Future set up in the National Development Policy.”

The Minister of Science and Technology indicated the fulfilment of this promise when he stated that “scientists and technologists from all organisations ha[d] co-operated very well with the Commission for the Future, which was established in August 1976” (Hon. L.W. Gandar NZPD Vol.416 1977, p.5471).

The other science commitment related to ‘International Science’ and established that:

“Because of the part science will play in every phase of future development, a National Government will encourage New Zealand's participation in international science, and make funds available through the Royal Society of New Zealand for international symposia to be held in New Zealand on topics of importance both internationally and to New Zealand.” (36)

The report of the RSNZ stated that “with Government support there [was] continuation of the successful policy of convening and organising specialist international symposia, under the aegis of the appropriate scientific union” (AJHR 1978 Vol.6 G.21, p.58). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Both of the first term’s science commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.1.32 Social Welfare

With 62 planks, social welfare is a major policy area and six of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Child Care’ and asserted that:

“Children in day care, whether in day nurseries, day care centres, shoppers creches or factory nurseries, will continue to be of particular concern.” (104)

The Minister of Social Welfare indicated that this plank was fulfilled when he said: “Priority has been given in this area to the care of pre-school children through the child-care subsidy programme, under which capital and capitation subsidies are made available to approved organisations providing child-care facilities” (Hon. H.J. Walker NZPD Vol.421 1978, p.3821).

The second pledge related to ‘Allowable Income for Income-Tested Beneficiaries’ and boasted that:

“For all beneficiaries allowable income, without any reduction of benefit, will be the difference between the amount of benefit payable to a married couple, and 80% of the Average Ordinary-Time Wage.” (105)

As of the 31st of August 1978, the amount of benefit payable to a married couple was \$77.28 and 80% of the average ordinary-time wage was \$105.76. The difference between these two figures is \$28.48. However, as of the 18th of October 1978, the income exemption was only raised to \$25 a week (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.12, pp.16-17). This meant that the allowable income level was actually \$3.48 a week lower than pledged by the end of National’s first term. This pledge is therefore coded as unfulfilled.

The next two promises related to ‘The National Superannuation Scheme’ and the first claimed that:

“Superannuation will be taxed at source and will be regarded as taxable income.” (106)

This promise was fulfilled as “a flat rate with-holding tax [was] deducted from the benefit before payment” (AJHR 1976 Vol.2 E.12, p.14).

The other commitment under this heading declared that:

“The benefit for a married couple will be paid in equal amounts to each partner and each would therefore receive, on this example, and at current rates of tax a net \$34.68 per week, making a net, cash-in-hand combined benefit of \$69.36.” (107)

The Social Security Amendment Act 1976 fulfilled this commitment. It reads: “In the case of a married couple both of whom are entitled to receive national superannuation, each spouse shall be entitled to receive 50 percent of the married rate” (NZS Vol.1, p.436).

The fifth social welfare plank related to the ‘Phasing-in of [the] National Superannuation Scheme’ and referring to the final phase of implementation established that:

“Stage 3, in mid-1978 will raise the National Superannuation to the full rate of 80% of the then current Average Ordinary-Time Wage.” (108)

The 1978 Budget fulfilled this plank. “National superannuation from 31 August provide[d] a minimum of 80 percent of the average ordinary-time wage to married couples over 60 years of age” (AJHR 1978 Vol.2 B.6, p.32).

The sixth and final social welfare pledge related to the ‘Effects on Other Benefits’ caused by the implementation of the National Superannuation Scheme and asserted that:

“Those single women aged between 55 and 60 years who at present receive the age benefit and further applicants who are eligible, will receive the domestic purposes benefit.” (109)

“Because there [was] no provision to pay national superannuation to a person under age 60 or to pay additional benefit for children of an unmarried superannuitant, some 526 unmarried women under age 60 who received the age benefit and 476 unmarried persons who received the age benefit and had dependent children were transferred to domestic purposes benefit as from 9 February 1977” (AJHR 1977 Vol.2 E.12, p.21). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, five-sixths of the first term’s social welfare pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.33 State Services

With only 10 promises, state services was a minor policy area. Only one of these was assessed and it related to the ‘Remuneration’ of state servants on an equivalent basis with the private sector. It boasted that:

“To achieve this goal a National Government will develop an effective Pay Research Unit and ensure that participating employers receive regular survey reports.” (127)

During the first term of the TNG, “difficulties continued to prevent the Pay Research Unit operating effectively” (AJHR 1976 Vol.3 G.3, p.12). This promise is coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for the first term’s state services policy area.

5.1.34 Superannuation

While much of the first term’s social welfare policy focused on superannuation, National also included a separate policy area specifically devoted to the new scheme. With 40 commitments, it was a major policy area in its own right and four of these were assessed. The first related to an overview of ‘The National Superannuation Scheme’ itself and claimed that:

“National Superannuation benefits will be paid at one of two rates - married and single.” (17)

At the introduction of national superannuation on 9 February 1977, the married rate was \$38.42 per person and the single rate was \$46.10 per person (AJHR 1977 Vol.2 E.12, p.18). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to the three-step ‘Phasing In’ period of the scheme and referring to the first of these declared that:

“Step 1, in 1976, will involve the removal of the income test, the merging of the age benefit and universal superannuation to form the National Superannuation, a rise in the net benefit and the introduction of tax deductions.” (18)

As was mentioned above, National Superannuation was not introduced in 1976 at all (AJHR 1976 Vol.1 B.6, p.29). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Contributions [made under Labour’s scheme being] Refunded’ and referring to how the government would treat this money established that:

“No interest will be paid but the amounts will be treated as tax free.” (19)

The Superannuation Schemes Act 1976 fulfilled this pledge. It provided that any contributions made under the previous scheme which were paid back to an employee should be exempt from tax (NZS Vol.1, p.22).

The fourth and final superannuation promise related to its ‘Effects on Other Benefits’ and asserted that:

“The over 60 husband will receive National Superannuation regardless of whether his wife is eligible.” (20)

“A married superannuitant with an unqualified spouse ha[d] the option of receiving the unmarried rate without an income test, or receiving, subject to an income test, an additional amount for the spouse” (AJHR 1977 Vol.2, p.17). This promise is coded as

fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the first term's superannuation promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.35 Tertiary Education Bursaries

Tertiary education bursaries was the smallest policy area to be assessed with only four commitments, probably because most of this was covered in the education policy area. Nevertheless, National did single bursaries out for special attention and one of the commitments was assessed. It boasted that:

“A National Government will retain the present level of allowances paid to student teachers.” (16)

National not only retained the level of allowances paid to student teachers, “the tertiary bursary rates [were] increased by \$2 a week from the beginning of the 1978 academic year” (AJHR 1977 Vol.1 B.6, p.34). This commitment is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for the first term's tertiary education bursaries policy area.

5.1.36 Tourism

With 28 planks, tourism is a minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to the ‘New Zealand National Travel Association’ (NTA) and referring to government grants to it claimed that:

“The Association will thus be encouraged to engage in greater promotional activities.” (45)

In 1977, the Minister of Tourism stated that the policy was being implemented with a \$25,000 subsidy approved for the NTA for 1976-7 compared to only \$4,000 for 1974-5 (Hon. H.R. Lapwood NZPD Vol.410 1977, p.452). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to ‘Family and Youth Accommodation’ and referring to camp and cabin accommodation declared that:

“A National Government will, therefore, assist this section where indication can be given that a sound development plan is involved.” (46)

While the Minister of Tourism noted that the Tourist Accommodation Development Scheme (TADCO) could “investigate any special cases of accommodation needs outside the hotel-motel category”, there did not appear to be a clear record of the pledged assistance for camp and cabin accommodation having been given (ibid Vol.408 1976, p.4801). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The third and final tourism promise related to ‘Research and Training’ and referring to a research orientated Chair of Tourist Management established that:

“The establishment of this Chair will provide facilities to give professional training in Tourist Management.” (47)

It was decided by the Minister of Tourism to forgo this academic Chair in favour of establishing training courses at technical institutes focussed on vocational development rather than research (ibid, p.4802). This promise is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only one-third of the first term’s tourism promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.37 Transport and Civil Aviation

Although it is a little bigger than tourism, with 31 commitments, transport and civil aviation was another minor policy area. Once again, three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Taxis’ and asserted that:

“Taxi regulations will be reviewed to eliminate those requirements which have the effect of placing drivers in potentially dangerous situations.” (123)

By the middle of National’s first term, the Minister of Transport admitted to not having even considered possible amendments to the regulations and there appear to be no changes to them before 1979 (Hon. C.C.A. McLachlan NZPD Vol.411 1977, p.1028). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Ports’ and referring to the New Zealand Ports Authority Act 1968 boasted that:

“National believes that an effective National Ports Authority is necessary for harbour planning and development and accordingly will review the Act and amend it where necessary.” (124)

This plank was fulfilled with the passing of “an Act to amend the New Zealand Ports Authority Act 1968” on 9 August 1978 (NZS Vol.1, p.66).

The third and final transport and civil aviation pledge related to ‘Agricultural Aviation’ and claimed that:

“National fully recognises the importance of the agricultural aviation industry as a significant contributor to New Zealand's primary production and will accordingly encourage and support its development.” (125)

“The statistics indicate that there was general improvement in aerial work operations during the [period] and a trend towards recovery in the industry.” Topdressing increased by more than 15% and there were also increases in aerial spraying and helicopter aerial work (AJHR 1977 Vol.3 F.5, p.33). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the first term’s transport and civil aviation pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.38 Women’s Policy

With 45 promises, women’s policy was the last, but certainly not the least area presented in the NZNP 1975 GEP and five of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Human Rights’ and declared that:

“A National Government will introduce legislation to remove existing legal discrimination relating to women, and to prohibit discrimination against any person by reason of sex.” (191)

National claimed to have “made the most significant legislative advances ever achieved in the interests of women with the Human Rights Commission Act, which ma[de] it an offence to discriminate in such areas as employment, housing and finance, on the grounds of sex” (NZNP 1978 GEP, p.56). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to ‘Women in Employment’ and established that:

“In cases where women wish to remain in the work force while having a family, maternity leave without pay will be available for a period of up to 12 weeks without loss of job security, promotion or superannuation rights, excepting where an employer can establish that this will cause undue disruption to his business enterprise.” (192)

By the end of National’s first term, maternity leave without pay was not available for a period of up to 12 weeks. These requirements were not prescribed until 13 January 1981 with the passing of the Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act 1980 (NZS Vol.2, p.1230). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The third plank related to ‘Women and Education’ and asserted that:

“National will give female teachers the same basis for transfer expenses as male teachers.” (193)

This plank was fulfilled with the passing of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 which stated that “it shall be unlawful for any person who is an employer to refuse or omit to offer or afford any person the same terms of employment, conditions of work, fringe benefits, and opportunities for training, promotion, and transfer as are made available for persons of the same or substantially similar qualifications employed in the same or substantially similar circumstances on work of that description by reason of the sex, marital status, or religious or ethical belief of that person (NZS Vol.1, pp.391-2 emphasis added).

The fourth pledge related to ‘Family Law’ and referring to the presumption that matrimonial property should be divided equally between spouses upon the dissolution of a marriage boasted that:

“The courts will be permitted to override this presumption where considered necessary in the interests of fairness and equity.” (194)

This pledge was fulfilled with the passing of the Matrimonial Property Act 1976 which stated that “where there are extraordinary circumstances that, in the opinion of the Court, render repugnant to justice the equal sharing between the spouses of any property or of any sum of money, the share of each shall be determined in accordance with the contribution of each to the marriage partnership” (NZS Vol.3, p.2158).

The fifth and final women’s policy promise related to ‘Special Aids’ and claimed that:

“A National Government will extend Social Security benefits to all those who in the opinion of a registered medical practitioner require surgical prostheses, including breast prostheses initially, following mastectomy operations.” (196)

According to the Digest of Services for Disabled Persons, “a subsidy of up to \$30 [was] available for those women who ha[d] undergone a mastectomy on and from 29 July 1978. The subsidy applie[d] only to the initial breast form and not to replacements” (Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons 1978, p.13). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 80% of the first term’s women’s policy promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.1.39 First Term Summary

There were 40 sections in National’s 1975 General Election Policy and 38 of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. The two policy areas omitted were ‘Land Acquisition’ and ‘Roothing’. These areas contained three or four promises each and the representative selection process did not allow for their inclusion because the promises they contained were not the next tenth promise in order.

Out of a total sample of 144 promises, National fulfilled 108. This represents a fulfilment rate of 75%. This is just two percent lower than the third Labour Government’s achievement and within the margin of error for a 10% representative assessment. Research done in the UK from this era (Rose, 1980) suggests that incumbent governments even with parliamentary majorities and the best intentions,

struggle to come to terms with the intricacies of fulfilling a new range of policies requiring the co-operation of weathered bureaucrats. In 1975, National promised a ‘New Zealand – the way New Zealanders wanted it’ (NZNP 1975 GEP), but in 1978, National’s vote share dropped by almost eight percent to less than 40% suggesting that it wasn’t the preferred way for over 60% of New Zealanders. However, Muldoon had gone to the country in November 1978 full of confidence drawn from the belief that his government’s efforts over the previous three years had proven its 1978 election slogan – ‘We’re keeping our word’ (Templeton 1995, p.110). The next section of this chapter will indicate to what extent National was able to use a successful first term in office as a platform for consolidating its policy programme and ‘keep its word’.

5.2 SECOND TERM: 1978-81

The NZNP 1978 GEP contained in total, 1275 pledges on just 59 pages representing an average of almost 22 promises per page. This indicates a pledge density that is more than three times higher than the previous terms, but one more akin to that of the previous Labour Government. It has the highest density recorded thus far.

5.2.1 Agriculture

With 83 commitments, agriculture is the second largest policy area in the NZNP 1978 GEP. Nine of these were assessed and the first related to ‘Co-Ordination Within [the agricultural] Industry’ and declared that:

“National will expand the role of the Agriculture Review Committee to provide for a constant monitoring of the state of all aspects of agriculture and horticulture.” (2)

On 1 March 1978, the Agricultural Review Committee (ARC) reported on the monitoring of 10 aspects of agriculture and horticulture, but by February 1981, this had dropped to five with wheat, barley, maize, other fruit and vegetables missing

from its industry analysis (ARC 1978 & 1981, p.i). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Finance’ and referring to workers land holdings known as ‘stepping-stone units’ established that:

“National will through the Rural Bank, give greater emphasis to lending on stepping-stone units, units with horticultural potential, and Maori land, including Maori lease land; and for share milking and share farming.” (2)

In the first year of National’s second term, lending on stepping-stone units increased from \$1.96m to \$4.17m and the number of units almost doubled. Lending for units in the other categories mentioned in the plank also increased (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.25, p.6). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Lands’ and referring to a National Land Use Conference to be held in 1979 asserted that:

“This conference will recommend guidelines for a national land use policy.” (2)

This conference never occurred. Instead, according to the Minister of Lands, “the Government organis[ed] a series of seminars aimed at providing an indicative land-use policy for the country” (Hon. V.S. Young NZPD Vol.425 1979, p.2930). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth promise related to ‘Crown Land Settlement’ and boasted that:

“Where practicable, this land will be released to settlers at an earlier stage of development with provision for necessary development finance.” (3)

The policy that units of crown land to be settled need be fully developed before settlement occurred was reviewed. “The Land Settlement Board decided that although the area grassed at settlement [had to] remain sufficient to produce an economic return, there [could] be a reduction in the quantity of other improvements.” Development finance was available through the Rural Bank (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 C.1, p.5). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to the ‘Farm Ownership Savings Scheme’ and claimed that:

“National will continue to make improvements to this scheme and in particular will increase the amount of eligible savings allowed each year to \$5,000;” (3)

This commitment was fulfilled. The Farm Ownership Savings Scheme annual report for 1981 reads: “Annual savings are limited to \$5,000” (AJHR 1981 Vol.1 B.25, p.14).

The sixth plank related to ‘Irrigation and Drainage’ and declared that:

“National will continue to provide funding for investigation and design of irrigation and rural water supply schemes to ensure multiple use of water in river development schemes and also to ensure that schemes acceptable to farmers are constructed concurrently with river development.” (4)

“Irrigation and rural water supply schemes [were] promoted, designed, and constructed by the Ministry of Works and Development in conjunction with the Rural Banking and Finance Corporation and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The Water Resources Council [was] involved with the allocation of water, the scheme objectives, and the provision of Government funding” (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 D.2, p.10). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The seventh pledge related to ‘Research’ and established that:

“National, recognising the importance of agricultural research to any programme aimed at increasing agricultural and horticultural production will fully examine current and likely future scientific and technical staff needs within the Agricultural Research Sections of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the D.S.I.R.” (4)

Scientific and technical agricultural research staff numbers increased during National’s second term indicating that these needs were examined. For example, from 1978-79 agricultural production scientist numbers ballooned from 777 to 797.

Similarly, agricultural processing scientist numbers rose from 76 to 83 (AJHR 1979 Vol.8 G.21, p.10). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The eighth promise related to ‘Rural Education’ and asserted that:

“Rural schools will benefit from the phased reduction in staff/pupil ratios for small schools, from 1:29 to 1:25, initiated by the National Government.” (4)

This promise was fulfilled with the reduction being phased in over the three years of National’s second term. “This new staffing schedule remove[d] the disadvantage suffered by 753 small schools when larger schools received a reduction in their teacher-pupil ratios [in 1977]” (AJHR 1979 Vol.5 E.1, pp.15-16).

The ninth and final agriculture commitment related to ‘Communications’ and referring to the need to improve unsatisfactory services in rural areas boasted that:

“National will, therefore continue to negotiate improved rural mail delivery services with rural mail contractors, seeking in particular five day delivery services for all but the most isolated box holders;” (5)

“Service to 3520 rural delivery boxholders on 122 deliveries was improved during [1979] following a decision by the Government to provide a 5-day service to all but the most isolated boxholders” (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 F.1, p.4). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, seven-ninths of the second term’s agriculture commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.2 Arts

With 20 planks, arts was a minor policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to the ‘Cultural Facilities Scheme’ and referring to building provision claimed that:

“The bulk of finance required for relevant feasibility studies will also be provided.” (5)

“An important development in [1979 was] the consolidation of the scheme’s policy on feasibility studies. Two further grants to undertake feasibility studies were approved. Prior feasibility studies [became] an integral part of the planning for major building and conversion projects” (AJHR 1979 Vol.7 G.7, p.17). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other arts pledge related to the ‘Sound Recording Industry’ and referring to encouraging New Zealand composers, recording artists and producers to develop and market their recordings declared that:

“To this end, National has asked the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council to report on how best these objectives can be achieved; and will give sympathetic consideration to such recommendations as the Council may make.” (6)

In March 1980, the Council submitted this report, but “was disappointed by the Government’s immediate refusal to accept the arguments advanced in the report on the need to abolish or at least reduce the sales tax” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.11, p.9). This lack of sympathetic consideration has resulted in the pledge being coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only half of the second term’s arts pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.3 Broadcasting

With 24 promises, broadcasting was two-thirds the average policy size and a little larger than arts, but still only two of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Television’ and established that:

“Within the next three years National will work for better scheduling to make programmes more complementary between the two channels and to ensure that a broad range of programmes is available to viewers in prime time;” (6)

Television was reorganised and “made possible more satisfactory complementary programming” (AJHR 1980 Vol.3 F.3, p.5). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other broadcasting commitment related to ‘Educational Broadcasting’ and asserted that:

“National will support special purpose authorisation for the broadcasting of non-commercial educational programmes.” (6)

The Broadcasting Amendment Act 1979 did support special purpose or short-term broadcasting authorisations and as a result, the Broadcasting Tribunal received “a number of applications each year from student groups” for non-commercial educational programmes (NZS Vol.1, p.735 & AJHR 1979 Vol.6 F.4, p.3). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term’s broadcasting commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.2.4 Commerce

With only 14 planks, commerce was also a minor policy area and once again, two of these were assessed. The first related to National’s commercial ‘Philosophy’ and boasted that:

“National will work to effect the promotion of opportunities for sound and profitable investment;” (7)

National did “free up overseas investment in New Zealand to attract more capital” (New Zealand National Party (NZNP) 1981, p.25). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other commerce pledge related to ‘Legislation’ and claimed that:

“National will invite the working party of consumer-commercial interests currently reviewing the consumer legislation administered by the Department of Trade and Industry to review, with the aim of updating and consolidating all consumer legislation administered by individual departments.” (7)

“The working party appointed by the Minister of Trade and Industry to review specific consumer and commercial legislation reported to him in July 1980” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.14, p.23). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term’s commerce pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.2.5 Defence

While defence was exactly the same size as commerce, only one of these promises was assessed. It related to National's 'Defence Review' and referring to expenditure on aircraft declared that:

"The purchase of the 10 Andover aircraft plus the recommended upgrading of the avionics equipment in our maritime aircraft will make for greater efficiency in maritime reconnaissance as well as greater scope for detecting the presence of foreign fishing vessels." (8)

In 1979 alone, "RNZAF Orion, Andover, and Skyhawk aircraft flew reconnaissance of territorial and closed fishing areas and regularly patrolled to the limits of the zone" resulting in 13 arrests and two vessel convictions (AJHR 1980 Vol.3 G.4, p.13). This promise is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for the second term's defence policy.

5.2.6 Economic

With 18 commitments, the economic policy was also a minor area, but two of these were assessed. The first related to 'Curbs on Government Spending' and established that:

"Because further tax relief will be facilitated by further restraint on Government spending, National will reaffirm the principle that activities which can be carried out in the private sector should not in general be carried out by Government departments." (9)

Further restraint was called for by the Government and the result was a reduction in marginal and average tax rates in the 1979 Budget (AJHR 1979 Vol.3 B.6, p.34). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other economic plank related to 'Price Control' and asserted that:

“As economic circumstances warrant, price controls will be removed from goods in plentiful supply and subject to competition.” (9)

The relaxation of price control early in 1979 constituted fulfilment of this plank (ibid, p.4). Both of the second term’s economic planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.2.7 Education

With 78 pledges, education was over twice the average policy size and the third largest overall. Eight of these were assessed and the first related to ‘Professionalism’. With reference to teacher training, it boasted that:

“More courses will be held, and advice given in techniques of quantitative as well as qualitative assessment.” (10)

Following 1978, the Department of Education reported that the frequency of district courses actually diminished and that “a place remain[ed] for district, regional, and national in-service training courses” (AJHR 1979 Vol.5 E.1, pp.9-10). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The second and third promises related to ‘The School System’ and the first of these claimed that:

“National will investigate ways of bringing school facilities and amenities more closely within the reach of the community, without prejudice to the autonomy of the governing committees or boards.” (10)

In 1979, seven schools with community-learning centres were given fully confirmed status with many other schools developing community programmes on a lesser level without diminishing the role of the Board of Trustees (ibid, p.25). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other school system commitment declared that:

“Special assistance will be given to primary and intermediate schools, to assist with the identification of reading problems as early as possible.” (10)

By September 1980, the reading-recovery programme which began by identifying problems with children as young as six was operating in at least 100 schools with the equivalent of 40 full-time teachers and the Minister of Education was “keen to expand the programme” (Hon. H.C. Templeton NZPD Vol.433 1980, p.3768). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth plank related to ‘Early Childhood Education’ and established that:

“National will extend the pre-school service established in the Correspondence School.” (11)

The Correspondence School pre-school service was extended between 1979-81. It increased from 8 staff serving 260 pupils in 1979 to 9 staff serving 275 pupils in 1981 (AJHR 1979 Vol.5 E.1, pp.20-1; 1980 Vol.2 E.1, p.19 & 1981 Vol.2 E.1, p.9). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to ‘Rural Education’ and asserted that:

“Rural schools will benefit from the phased reduction in staff/pupil ratios for small schools, from 1:29 to 1:25, initiated by the National Government.” (11)

This pledge is identical to the eighth agriculture pledge and is coded as fulfilled (op.cit. for details).

The sixth and seventh promises related to ‘Multi-Cultural Education’ and the first of these boasted that:

“National will continue to support the Maori Education Foundation with emphasis on the underprivileged.” (11)

Between 1979-80, Government subsidies through the Maori Education Foundation (MEF) almost doubled from \$112,741 to \$217,670 and grants increased in value from \$13,576 to \$55,000, with priority for those in the poorest circumstances (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.24, p.12). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other multi-cultural commitment claimed that:

“Recognising our ties with the Pacific Island nations and the interchange of culture which is vital to our growing together, National will continue to provide for the general needs of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand by developing special teaching programmes in teachers colleges to assist in the teaching of English as a second language.” (12)

“Electives in multicultural education and the teaching of English as a second language” were introduced at North Shore and Wellington Teachers Colleges for the 1979 academic year (AJHR 1979 Vol.5 E.1, p.32). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The eighth and final education plank related to ‘Continuing Education’ and in addition to emphasising support for community colleges declared that:

“We will also support a wide variety of cultural and similar activities.” (12)

Throughout their second term, National financially supported such varied cultural activities as dance workshops, cultural relations, art tours, museum exhibitions and craft conferences to name a few (AJHR 1979 Vol.7 G.11, p.24). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, seven-eighths of the second term’s education planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.8 Energy

With 62 pledges, energy was a major policy area and six of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Planning’ and referring to an energy advisory agency established that:

“The agency will have an advisory role in that it will make continuing annual reviews of the energy needs of New Zealand over a 15 year period and the energy resources available to meet those needs.” (13)

This agency was established and named the Energy Advisory Committee. It “review[ed] each annual energy plan and ma[d]e recommendations for future

planning. [Its] 1980 energy plan [was] developed for a 15-year planning horizon” (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 D.6A, p.4). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to ‘Electricity’ and asserted that:

“Major schemes to develop hydro potential will be continued.” (13)

This promise was fulfilled to the extent that the Ministry of Works was able to state in 1979 that “construction of civil engineering works for power projects reached the highest rate achieved so far, with major stations underway at Rangipo and in the Upper Waitaki Basin” (AJHR 1979 Vol.5 D.1, p.27).

The third commitment related to ‘Natural Gas’ and boasted that:

“Where feasible, the Natural Gas Corporation will extend the reticulation to provide supply to major users.” (13)

“Work [was] carried out both on the extension of existing reticulation systems and on the reticulation of new areas.” Large industrial users such as Kinleith and Auckland were among the many new areas reticulated during National’s second term (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 D.6, p.17). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth plank related to ‘Incentives to Use Natural Gas’ and claimed that:

“National will review and continue to expand incentives to encourage the conversion of electricity to gas appliances in the home and in industry where it is more efficient to do so.” (14)

“The gas connection and appliance loan schemes introduced in 1977 were extended [in 1979] to include all forms of natural gas, natural gas products, and certain bottled LPG schemes” (AJHR 1979 Vol.5 D.6, p.11). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to ‘Other Energy Sources’ and referring to New Zealand’s long-term energy needs demanding the full utilisation of all its indigenous resources declared that:

“With this in mind, National will continue research and development into energy farming and other biomass potential;” (14)

In 1980, “the Ministry [of Energy] established a biomass co-ordinating group, with representation from LFTB [Liquid Fuels Trust Board], NZERDC [New Zealand Energy Research Development Committee], and Government departments involved in energy research.” This group developed a programme of research and development on and of fuels from biomass (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 D.6, p.16). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth and final energy promise related to ‘Research and Development’ and referring to National’s recognition of a need for this established that:

“Specifically, National will continue its active membership of the International Energy Agency of the O.E.C.D.;” (15)

New Zealand did continue to be actively involved in the IEA by being the only country to come close to achieving oil reduction targets in 1979, participating in an energy policy review team, agreeing on targets for oil imports and emphasising influence over oil stock levels (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 D.6, p.15). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s energy promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.9 Environment

With 46 commitments, the environment was also a major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first of these related to ‘Mountain Lands’ and asserted that:

“National will continue to give high priority to activities in reducing erosion of hill country and mountains.” (15)

Works designed to reduce hill country erosion did receive priority during National’s second term. An example of this was “the proposed programme of the Manawatu Catchment Board for erosion control on the south-east Ruahine range area” which received approval for a 5-year programme” (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 D.2, p.8). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Indigenous Forests’ and boasted that:

“Exotic conversion will be carried out only in those logged over areas where natural regeneration has not been successful, where the social and economic need is clearly evident, and where exotic plantations are the appropriate productive use of the kind.” (16)

By the end of March 1979, “conversion of State indigenous forest to exotic plantations ha[d] generally ceased, except on the west coast of the South Island and on areas of State forest leased to private interests prior to the formulation of the policy” (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 C.3, p.8). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Urban or Industrial Waste’ and referring to the fact that environmental pollutants are often resources in the wrong place claimed that:

“Therefore, National will have the old car bodies at present polluting our countryside, reused by providing incentives to establish mobile compression machines to crush car bodies in preparation for transportation to a car shredding plant.” (16)

According to the Product Stewardship Adviser in the Ministry for the Environment, government incentives have never been provided to establish mobile crushers because the market has always provided incentive enough (pers. com. 19/2/07). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final environment promise related to ‘Conservation’ and declared that:

“National will continue to promote our programme to better utilise and conserve energy by further encouraging industry to develop energy systems which utilise industrial wastes to meet their energy needs, thereby increasing their level of self-sufficiency in energy.” (16)

In 1979, “investment in new plant for energy production from waste material qualifie[d] for [an] immediate 100 percent write-off taxation incentive for industrial and commercial energy conservation and use” (Minister of Energy 1979, p.38). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the second term’s environment promises were coded as fulfilled.

5.2.10 Fishing

With 33 commitments, fishing was slightly below average size, but still had four of these assessed. The first referred to the pattern of growth and development in fisheries fostered by National in their first term and established that:

“This stimulation of the fishing industry will also prove to be of major benefit to several of our provincial port cities in generating employment opportunities and economic and social development.” (17)

During National’s second term, employment opportunities in the fishing industry increased by about 25%. The number employed in catching, processing and marketing fish ballooned from about 4600 to 5700, many of these jobs being based in provincial port cities such as Gisborne (NZNP 1981, p.44). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to the ‘Marine Reserve’ and asserted that:

“National, having recently established New Zealand's first marine reserve, will investigate other methods of protecting the aquatic environment and providing scientific data on coastal water usage.” (17)

A very similar plank to this was repeated by National three years later without any suggestion that something had been done in the intervening period to act on its contents (ibid, p.42). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Exports’ and boasted that:

“National will continue to encourage the development of the local fishing industry so that New Zealand fish exports can compete on and gain a greater share of overseas markets.” (18)

By 1981, National appears to have “encouraged the rapid expansion of the domestic fishing industry” (ibid, p.44). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final fishing promise related to ‘Finance’ and referring to loans for re-engining vessels over 9 metres in length claimed that:

“Finance will also be provided to cover short-term liabilities.” (18)

In 1979 the Rural Bank stated that it was then “able to offer a comprehensive range of term mortgage finance to most of the sectors of the fishing industry.” This included short and long-term loans for a wide range of capital outlays (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.25, p.15). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, also 75% of the second term’s fishing promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.11 Foreign Affairs

With 46 commitments, foreign affairs was a major policy area, but still only had four of these assessed. The first related to ‘The ANZAC Partnership’ and referring to National declared that:

“It will strengthen co-operation with Australia still further, both bilaterally and in our relations with other countries;” (19)

“The ‘Nareen Declaration’ signed by the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, and the New Zealand Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Talboys, during the latter’s visit recognised the scope for intensifying co-operation and exchanges between the two countries” (AJHR 1979 Vol.1 A.1, p.14). This laid the foundation for CER which replaced NAFTA four years later. This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Asia’ and established that:

“National recognises the wide range and diverse requirements of our relations with Asia with its growing influence in world affairs, and will accordingly maintain our close political ties with South East Asian countries and develop our political and economic links with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN);” (19)

During its second term, “National emphasised the development of closer political and economic links with the ASEAN countries” (NZNP 1981, p.48). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Eastern Europe’ and referring to the NZ/USSR relationship asserted that:

“National believes that there is scope for the further development of a mutually advantageous economic, trading and technological relationship between the two countries and will continue its efforts in this direction.” (20)

“In January 1980 a number of decisions were taken by Cabinet to demonstrate the Government’s strong disapproval of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This policy meant in effect a severe curtailment of all official contacts between New Zealand and the USSR” representing a discontinuation of efforts to develop the relationship (AJHR 1981 Vol.1 A.1, p.23). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final foreign affairs promise related to the ‘Gleneagles Agreement’ and boasted that:

“As a signatory to the Gleneagles Agreement, a National Government will continue to persuade New Zealand sporting bodies to observe that agreement as a code of conduct in international sporting events.” (20)

The 1981 Springbok tour tested this promise and yet it remained unchanged in the 1981 manifesto. Muldoon had done precisely what the promise stated, he continued to persuade Ces Blazey (NZRU Chairman) to observe the agreement, but “failed to move” him (Templeton 1995, p.158). National made exactly the same promise in 1981 and given that this is a status quo pledge, the reality that the policy had not changed suggests that it was fulfilled (NZNP 1981, p.50). Overall, once again 75% of the second term’s foreign affairs promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.12 Forestry

With 29 commitments, forestry was a minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Indigenous Forests’ and referring to the logging of virgin native forest on a sustained yield basis claimed that:

“This will only occur after management proposals have been formulated, following the release of a public discussion document and wide ranging discussions have been held.” (21)

As mentioned earlier, by the 31st of March 1979, the west coast of the South Island was the only substantial area in which indigenous forestry was still occurring. Even then, “as further short- and long-term contracts expire[d] the production level [from indigenous forests was] expected to further decline as production forests [were] managed more and more in accordance with sustainable yield objectives. Following the West Coast management proposals discussions [were] held with industry to determine the distribution and available yield of indigenous timber in the Buller, North Westland, and Inangahua areas” (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 C.3, p.8). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Exotic Production Forests’ and declared that:

“Unproductive Crown land will be planted in exotic forests, where this is the appropriate land use.” (21)

According to the Minister of Forests, state exotic tree planting accelerated during the first two terms of the TNG. The second half of the 1970s saw 33 000 more hectares of exotic forest planted on Crown land than during the first half and “much of the planting [was] on land that [was] unsuitable for other use[s]” (Hon. V.S. Young NZPD Vol.425 1979, p.2724). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final forestry pledge related to ‘Tree Crop Production’ and established that:

“National, in recognising the potential of production of nuts and similar crops from trees will investigate the setting up of tree crop nurseries;” (21)

While the Government did back promotion of horticultural expansion in a number of diversified areas such as avocados, tamarillos, feijoas, blackcurrants, boysenberries, blueberries, mushrooms, garlic, cucurbits, cut flowers, nursery plants, onions and kiwifruit, this did not seem to have extended to nuts (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 C.5, p.7). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the second term’s forestry pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.13 Health

With 89 promises, health was the largest policy area in 1978 and nine of these were assessed. The first referred to the declaration of the WHO and asserted that:

“National, in observing the foregoing World Health Organisation declaration, will continue to promote health education and disseminate information which will assist the individual to recognise his own responsibilities.” (22)

National made virtually the same promise in 1981 and given that this is a status quo pledge, the reality that the policy had not changed suggests that it was fulfilled (NZNP 1981, p.56). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to the ‘Future Development of Health Services’ and boasted that:

“Any proposal to integrate hospital boards with Health Districts will be carefully considered.” (22)

National did introduce the concept of integrating hospital boards with Health Districts in the form of Area Health Boards and in 1981 stated that it was “being given careful study” (ibid, p.57). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to ‘Child Health’ and claimed that:

“National will increase general public and parental awareness of the special needs of the child through television and other media with particular emphasis on preventive health measures such as efficient health surveillance at pre-school and school age level.” (23)

In 1981, National stated that they would continue to “further encourage, in school and pre-school age groups, early identification and correction of medical disabilities relating to such things as hearing and vision, and maintain the encouraging progress achieved in child dental health” suggesting that this emphasis was already in place (ibid, p.56). Increased awareness was achieved through TVNZ productions aimed at parents (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.10, p.30). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth plank related to ‘Health Centres’ and referring to the construction of these declared that:

“This programme will be accelerated.” (23)

In one year during National’s second term, the number of health centres planned or constructed doubled from nine to 18. “The Thames Health Centre was opened in June 1979 and the Lyttelton centre in February 1980. Centres at Waikanae and Manukau City open[ed] in March and June 1980” with tenders and proposals let for Upper Hutt, Tamatea, Silverstream, Kaiti, and Waimate during the same period (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.10, p.39 & 1980 Vol.2 E.10, p.37). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to ‘Hospital Care’ and referring to hospital boards established that:

“National will encourage Boards to further develop their community-based services, with special attention to domiciliary care.” (23)

In 1981, National stated that they would continue to “encourage and assist hospital boards to extend their community health and domiciliary care services, such as home help, meals-on-wheels, laundry services, district nursing and chiropody” suggesting that this encouragement was already occurring (NZNP 1981, p.56). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth promise related to ‘Health Information and Promotion’ and referring to an emphasis on the value to both the individual and the community of attention by the individual to positive health measures asserted that:

“National will, therefore consult with the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation, and other appropriate authorities to establish a programme for the dissemination of information on family and occupational health;” (24)

“In conjunction with Television New Zealand the [health] department produced four further parenthood education films” during 1980 and other media on occupational health issues such as noise awareness (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.10, p.30). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The seventh commitment related to ‘Dental’ health and boasted that:

“National sets as its goal the promotion of dental health to a standard that will allow people to retain their natural teeth for life.” (24)

In 1979, the Department of Health said that “young people are now entering adult life in a better state of dental health than in the past. It is apparent that significant reductions have occurred in the proportion of young adults who have lost their natural teeth” (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.10, p.26). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The eighth plank related to the ‘Physically Handicapped’ and claimed that:

“Further assistance will be provided to voluntary agencies who play an important role in helping the physically handicapped to live in the community.” (24)

In 1981, “an important addition to [the financial assistance to voluntary organisations programme was] the recognition and financial assistance being given to work done by voluntary agencies in helping families and individuals cope in the community” (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.12, p.43). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The ninth and final health pledge related to ‘Alcohol and Tobacco’ and referring to making the public aware of the deleterious effects of consuming these substances declared that:

“Special education campaigns will be undertaken.” (25)

In 1979, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research issued a “booklet entitled ‘Alcohol and You’ for use in schools (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.26, p.5). The following year, “the major [media health] programme was in support of WHO’s theme for 1980, ‘Smoking or Health – the Choice is Yours’” (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.10, p.30). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s health pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.14 Housing

With 49 promises, housing was another major policy area and five of these were assessed. The first related to National's housing 'Philosophy' and established that:

"National will continue to direct its future policies towards achieving an adequate supply of private and public mortgage finance capable of meeting the needs of home seekers at reasonable rates of interest;" (25)

This policy direction changed in 1981 as National began to emphasise that their policy was to "ensure that adequate finance [be] available through the private sector" only (NZNP 1981, p.66). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second commitment related to 'Housing Finance' and asserted that:

"Under National the Housing Corporation will introduce special incentives, such as suspensory loans, for the purchase of new and existing dwellings where these fall within the Government's urban renewal guidelines." (25)

"On 15 March 1979 the Government released its lending policies to be operative from 1 April 1979. The main changes announced" did include special incentives such as suspensory loans, and by 1981, borrowers could choose whether they bought an existing home or built a new home (AJHR 1979 Vol.3 B.13, p.8 & NZNP 1981, p.64). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to 'Urban Renewal' and referring to an expansion of its urban renewal programme National boasted that:

"In so doing, National will review the criteria for repayment of Post Office second mortgages." (26)

There is no reference made in the Post Office reports, Statutes, Hansards, the New Zealand Gazette, Statutory Regulations, secondary housing commentaries or National's 1981 manifesto to any review of repayment criteria for Post Office second

mortgages having occurred during National's second term. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to 'State Housing' and referring to a revision of the criteria by which state house allocations were made claimed that:

"The revised criteria will include a calculation of eligibility, inclusive of net rather than gross income and making allowance for overtime." (26)

Much like the previous pledge, there is no reference made in the Housing Corporation reports, Statutes, Hansards, the New Zealand Gazette, Statutory Regulations, secondary housing commentaries or National's 1981 manifesto to any revision of eligibility criteria for state housing having occurred during National's second term. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fifth and final housing promise related to 'Pensioner Housing' and declared that:

"National will encourage local bodies and charitable organisations to erect own-your-own flats for sale to elderly people (without any income limit) by making bridging finance available." (26)

"To achieve better use of existing homes the corporation [did] lend to sponsoring organisations to erect modest cost flats to rehouse elderly home owners whose home, now too big for them, would suit a family. Both bridging and long term finance [were] available." The number of these flats and their cost both increased during National's second term (AJHR 1979 Vol.3 B.13, p.19). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, only 40% of the second term's housing promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.15 Immigration

With only 11 commitments, immigration was a minor policy area and just one of these was assessed. It related to National's 'Long-Term [immigration] Goals' and referring to social considerations established that:

“National will therefore promote, within the context of an overall population policy for New Zealand, a balanced and long-term immigration policy which will have full regard for the desire to provide assistance to Pacific nations, particularly through the provision of work permit schemes for unskilled workers;” (27)

There is no reference made in the Department of Labour reports, Statutes, Hansards, the New Zealand Gazette, Statutory Regulations, secondary immigration commentaries or National’s 1981 manifesto to any provision for work permit schemes for unskilled Pacific workers during National’s second term. This commitment is coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for the second term’s immigration policy area.

5.2.16 Industrial Relations

With 44 planks, industrial relations was a major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to National’s industrial relations ‘Philosophy’ and asserted that:

“National supports the concept of mediation and conciliation and will uphold and respect the authority and standing of the Arbitration Court.” (28)

The Industrial Relations Amendment Act, passed in 1981, made “provision for the Minister of Labour to refer disputes in essential industries to the Arbitration Court for settlement” thus reinforcing National’s commitment to this process (NZNP 1981, p.69). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to an ‘Office to Supervise Union Ballots’ and referring to the Department of Labour boasted that:

“National will offer a fully independent electoral office within the Department for the use by unions free of charge, to undertake when requested any ballots within the union.” (28)

When questioned about the costs associated with running this office, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Minister of Labour was unable to answer conclusively because “the ballots [were] handled in association with other departmental functions” suggesting that it was not fully independent (Mr Malcolm NZPD Vol.425 1979, p.2537). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The third promise related to ‘Worker Participation’ and claimed that:

“Particular emphasis will be placed on programmes of joint consultation and the development of autonomous work groups which we believe are the most successful in and suitable for the New Zealand environment.” (28)

“The department [of Labour] continued to offer information and encouragement to organisations, firms, unions, and individuals interested in increasing the level of worker participation in industry. A service was developed to put firms and unions interested in the subject in touch with each other. Discussion on the topic was stimulated by articles in the ‘Labour and Employment Gazette’, and the department’s short give-away booklet, ‘Worker Participation: A New Zealand Approach’, was updated and reissued. An officer of the division spoke to varied groups on worker participation and delivered papers to seminars and to the 49th Congress of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science” (AJHR 1979 Vol.7 G.1, pp.28-9). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final industrial relations commitment related to ‘Flexibility in Employment’ and declared that:

“To maximise workforce potential and to minimise the difficulties which parents with family responsibilities face, National will provide special officers of the Employment Division of the Department of Labour, with responsibilities to encourage all employers, in both the public and private sector, to provide work patterns suitable for family needs such as flexible working hours.” (29)

While “specific increases were granted” to staff numbers in various divisions of the Department of Labour, this did not include the provision of special officers for the Employment Division (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.1, p.8). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 50% of the second term’s industrial relations commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.17 Internal Affairs

With 21 planks, internal affairs was a minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Youth’ and referring to the Youth Initiatives Fund established that:

“National will further develop such schemes where the need exists.” (30)

“Accordingly, \$400,000 [was] made available through Vote: Internal Affairs to help fund the salaries of 25 community-based project co-ordinators. They [were] expected to provide managerial and organisational skills, to develop training programmes to meet the special needs of long-term unemployed young people, and to explore new types of work opportunity for them” (AJHR 1981 Vol.1 B.6, p.21). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to ‘Wildlife’ and referring to the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society asserted that:

“National will also co-operate closely with the Acclimatisation Societies.” (30)

In 1979, “amendments to the Wildlife Regulations 1955 enabled the North Island acclimatisation societies to issue licences valid throughout the North Island and for South Island societies to issue licences valid throughout the South Island.” This initiative was “well received” by hunters, increased society funding and indicated close co-operation between the Government and the societies (AJHR 1979 Vol.7 G.7, p.34). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final internal affairs promise related to the ‘Chatham Islands’ and boasted that:

“National will ensure that a regular and frequent shipping service is provided, and that the wharf is upgraded to meet the requirements of the vessel on the run.” (30)

In 1981, the Department of Internal Affairs reported that the “M.v. Holmdale, chartered by the Government from the Union Steam Ship Co., completed 13 voyages between Lyttelton and the Chatham Islands. Reconstruction of the wharf tee-head at Waitangi [was] carried out by Wilkins and Davies Ltd. and the Ministry of Works and Development” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.7, p.36). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s internal affairs promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.18 Justice

With 48 commitments, justice was a major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to the ‘Legal Profession’ and referring to law practitioners disciplinary tribunals claimed that:

“Particular attention will be given to the recommendations of the Public and Administrative Law Reform Committee on lay participation in disciplinary tribunals.” (31)

National did introduce a bill in 1981 which provided for Lay Observers in District Disciplinary Tribunals who were to “examine any written allegation made by or on behalf of a member of the public concerning any District Law Society’s treatment of a complaint about the conduct of a practitioner” (NZPB 1981 Law Practitioners Bill, p.67). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to a ‘Reprint of Statutes’ and declared that:

“When completed, this will mean that all statutes will have been reprinted in the previous ten years - and this cycle will be maintained on a continuous basis.” (31)

According to Jim McLay who was the second term’s Minister of Justice, “the first stage of the reprinting process began in 1979. The reprints continued there in the manner that was contemplated.” (pers. com. 3/5/07). However, Margaret Greville has said with reference to the plank, that “this ideal state of equilibrium was never reached” (Greville, Davidson and Scragg 2007, p.29). Notwithstanding this, given that National had admitted the fulfilment would require a ten year cycle and that they

were not in government ten years after it had commenced, they can only be judged on their level of achievement while in office. With this in mind, given that National began the process and that it continued during their period of office, this plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Liquor Laws’ and referring to drinking-driving law enforcement procedures established that:

“The law will continue to be reviewed and , if necessary, strengthened even further.” (32)

The Transport Amendment Act 1979 did strengthen the procedures associated with drink-driving offences by making it an offence to refuse to accompany an enforcement officer to a registered medical practitioner to permit a blood specimen to be taken and enabling such an officer to arrest such an offender without warrant (NZS Vol.1, p.122). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final justice promise related to the ‘Human Rights Commission’ and asserted that:

“Commission offices will be established in those centres where there is sufficient demand.” (32)

In 1980, new offices were either expanded or acquired in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.6, p.48). This represented the greatest number of offices since the Commission’s establishment. This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s justice promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.19 Law and Order

With 33 commitments, law and order was only an average-sized policy area, but four of these were still assessed. The first related to ‘ManPower’ and boasted that:

“National will continue to pay close attention to the manpower needs of the police in relation to the tasks and demands made on them.” (33)

In 1981, National claimed to “have given the Police the personnel, money, and powers to ensure their continuing strength, effectiveness and morale” (NZNP 1981, p.72). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Equipment’ and claimed that:

“National will continue to ensure that the police are provided with the up-to-date equipment necessary for efficient law enforcement.” (34)

Towards the end of 1979, the Leader of the House of Representatives noted that the Government had increased Police numbers and vehicles and provided them with “the most up-to-date two-way radios” (Hon. David Thomson NZPD Vol.427 1979, p.4128). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to the ‘Misuse of Drugs’ and referring to education programmes, treatment, rehabilitation services and facilities declared that:

“To ensure that the impetus created in these fields is sustained, National will set up a Drugs Advisory Committee responsible to the Minister of Health, whose functions will include ensuring the integration and continued development of these facilities and services as part of the community health programme, with emphasis on training of suitable personnel;” (35)

“A Drugs Advisory Committee was set up to advise the Minister during” 1980 to accomplish the pledged functions (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.10, p.26). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final law and order promise related to ‘Road Safety’ and referring to the recommendations of the Road Safety Select Committee established that:

“National will carefully review these findings with a view to their implementation.” (35)

By 1 December 1979, “action ha[d] already been taken to implement those recommendations, including certain legislative amendments” (AJHR 1979 Vol.9 I.17, p.9). These required, among other things, all new cars to be fitted with seat belts in all

forward and rear seating positions. This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term's law and order promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.20 Local Government

With 30 commitments, local government was another medium-sized policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to 'Ad Hoc Authorities' and asserted that:

"National will continue to maintain the right of ad hoc authorities such as: Harbour, Hospital, Electricity, River, Catchment, Drainage and Pest Destruction Boards to remain fully autonomous and free from compulsory amalgamation." (36)

The Local Government Act 1974 classed these ad hoc authorities as "public bodies in respect of which [the Local Government] Commission ha[d] jurisdiction only if requested" by the authority and this Act was reprinted as current on 1 October 1980 (RSNZ 5 1980, pp.77 & 613). This meant that the authority's autonomy was legally protected. This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to 'Subsidies' and boasted that:

"National will continue to encourage local authorities to provide own-your-own units to the occupants of under-utilised homes." (36)

This plank is substantially indistinguishable from the fifth housing plank and is coded as fulfilled (op.cit. for details).

The third and final local government pledge related to 'General' administrative issues and claimed that:

"National will complete the consolidation of the Counties and Municipal Corporations Acts into one Local Government Act." (36)

The Local Government Amendment Act 1979 consolidated, replaced and repealed The Municipal Corporations Act 1954 and The Counties Act 1956 (NZS Vol.2,

p.1104). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, once again, 100% of the second term's local government pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.21 Manufacturing

With 35 promises, manufacturing is yet another medium-sized policy area with three of these being assessed again. The first related to 'Protection Policies' and declared that:

“National will continue to use both import licensing and the tariff as the means of maintaining a strong and stable domestic market for export and efficient import substitution industries;” (37)

Import licensing and the tariff did continue to be used during National's second term. For example, “during the [1978-9] year a total of 80 687 import licenses were issued” and the “Customs Tariff, which came into effect on 1 July 1978” continued to be used throughout the period (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.24, pp.12-13). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to 'Technology' and established that:

“National will promote the development jointly by industry and the scientific sector of an agreed science plan;” (37)

In 1984, the first steps of this plan were published (National Research Advisory Council [NRAC], 1984). This was three years too late for a second term commitment to be kept given that it was unconditional. It is therefore coded as unfulfilled.

The third and final manufacturing plank related to 'Government Sector Services' and asserted that:

“National will continue to support and expand the services of funded agencies including The Development Finance Corporation.” (37)

Lending to the manufacturing sector through the DFC actually decreased during National's second term. For example, in 1979, this totalled \$50 million while by 1980

it had dropped to less than \$45 million (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.26, p.3 & 1980 Vol.1 B.26, p.3). This plank is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the second term's manufacturing planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.22 Maori Affairs

With 62 pledges, Maori affairs is a major policy area and six of these were assessed. The first related to 'Land' and boasted that:

"All public works (other than those of national importance) involving use of Maori land will be publicly designated under the Town and Country Planning Act prior to any further action being taken under the Public Works Act." (38)

In order to avoid a repeat of Bastion Point, these safeguards for Maori land were put in place. They were so effective, in fact, that in October of 1979, Ian McLean (National MP for Tarawera) was reported to have said that "somehow [National] would have to deal expeditiously with this situation because the [new] delays in acquiring Maori land were unacceptable in [relation to] major projects" (Hon. M. Rata NZPD Vol.427 1979, p.4327). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to 'Rural Development and Reconstruction' and claimed that:

"With its economic as well as cultural significance, Maori land will be developed for farming and forestry." (38)

"Scheme farming programmes [on Maori land were] regularly reviewed in the light of current demands and trends, particularly for diversification. Forestry [was] the most common form of diversification and renewal plantations [were being] established" (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 E.13, p.6). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third commitment related to 'Finance' and declared that:

"The Maori Affairs Department will be instructed to explore the changes required in Maori ownership of land needed to encourage traditional finance lenders to lend on economic ventures on Maori land." (38)

“The Department of Lands and Survey and [Maori Affairs worked] together to speed the process of surveying Maori land partitioned before 1 April 1968. In excess of 10 000 ha [had been] defined [between] 1978 [and 1980], giving 100 blocks registrable titles which [could] provide effective collateral for loans for development purposes” (ibid, p.9). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth plank related to ‘Mutual Respect’ and established that:

“To encourage mutual respect and understanding for Maori and European cultures in New Zealand, National will extend opportunities for the understanding and acceptance of different cultural values by providing higher grants, loans and subsidies for the establishment of urban marae and the preservation, expansion and upgrading of traditional marae to meet changing requirements.” (39)

“The sum of \$400,000 subsidy was allocated [in 1979] for urban and rural marae projects; an increase of 29 percent on the previous year” (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.13, p.7). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to ‘Education’ and asserted that:

“National will increase the number of technical and trade training courses for Maori students;” (39)

“National increased the number of technical and trade training courses for Maori students throughout the country. The number of students going through these courses increased from 814 in 1979 to 1498 in 1981” (NZNP 1981, p.82). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth and final Maori affairs promise related to the ‘Urban Challenge’ facing many Maori and boasted that:

“National will recognise the need for positive and creative concentration on Maori youth and Maori community development, especially in the fields of organisation and community training programmes.” (39)

National introduced two groups of community training programmes for Maori during their second term – Kokiri Out-reach Programmes and Tu Tangata Whanau/Family Programmes (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.13, p.2). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term's Maori affairs promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.23 National Development

With only 12 commitments, national development was a minor policy area and a third of the average size. Two of these were assessed. The first related to 'Ministerial Responsibility' and claimed that:

“National will ensure that the Planning Council and the Commission for the Future have adequate secretarial and research facilities to enable them to carry out their functions.” (40)

“In the year ended 31 March 1981 the links between the [Planning] council's advisory activities and the decision-making process within the Government were strengthened. Throughout 1980 the Commission for the Future (CFF) continued its twin programme of futures studies research and public education” (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 D.9, p.2 & D.10, p.3). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other national development plank related to 'National Planning and Regional Planning' and declared that:

“National will continue to give high priority to regional planning, and will ensure that a cohesive relationship and administrative framework exists so that regional and national planning objectives can be co-ordinated.” (40)

This does not appear to have been accomplished by 1981. “In its reports the [Planning] council pointed to the considerable potential it s[aw] in the regional planning process, but it also suggested that both central government and local authorities need[ed] to make a firmer commitment to regional planning if this potential [was] to be realised. The council, after considering reactions to its [previous] work and [new] developments, report[ed] further on improving links between national and regional planning and co-ordinating planning within central government. The

council [was] concerned that the important issues involved for national, regional, and local planning should not be approached in [the] piecemeal way” that was occurring (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 D.9, pp.4-5). This plank is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only half of the second term’s national development planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.24 Overseas Trade

With 35 pledges, overseas trade was a medium-sized policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘International Trade Policy’ and established that:

“National will continue to co-operate with other countries in international forums - the G.A.T.T., O.E.C.D., U.N.C.T.A.D., I.M.F., and World Bank - in seeking to expand trading opportunities through the world by liberalising international trade;” (41)

While National did maintain New Zealand’s involvement in these forums throughout its second term, of particular importance “was the adoption, in June 1980, of the Trade Declaration by which [OECD] member countries agree[d] to endeavour to reduce or abolish obstacles to world trade in both agricultural and industrial products” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.14, p.44). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to export ‘Incentives’ and asserted that:

“Export Year has aroused the interest and good will of all groups in the economy in the vital importance of exports and this will be continued.” (41)

According to Mr Kidd (MP for Marlborough), “that is what Export Year was all about. It was a success. The people involved in Export Year show[ed] that substantial progress [was] being made and that they [were] adopting the attitude that they should succeed” (NZPD Vol.424 1979, p.1946). This export success for all groups well into the second half of 1979 was confirmed by the opposition member, Mr MacDonell (MP for Dunedin Central) suggesting that the promise was fulfilled (ibid).

The third and final overseas trade commitment related to ‘Trade Services and Promotion’ and boasted that:

“National will take every opportunity to advance New Zealand's trading prospects abroad and in particular will expand and develop the system of export seminars backed up by information services to equip New Zealand exporters with the most up-to-date knowledge of markets and marketing and to share experience in exporting.” (42)

In 1979, the Trade and Industry “departmental [Export Marketing Seminar] series was complimented by a number of other seminars on a wide variety of subjects run by organisations such as the Export Institutes, Manufacturer’s Associations, banks, and others” (AJHR 1979 Vol.7 G.14, p.32). This represented an expansion of the previously established seminar system and fulfilled the commitment. Overall, 100% of the second term’s overseas trade commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.25 Post Office

With only 10 planks, the Post Office policy area was the smallest in the 1978 GEP and one of these was assessed. It claimed that:

“The Post Office will exploit the latest telecommunications technology, such as electronic exchange systems and computer facilities, to minimise costs and provide an increasing range of customer services as the need arises.” (42)

In the 1978-9 year, “twenty-six new automatic exchanges were brought into service, including five which replaced manual exchanges.” This meant that over 95% of subscribers then had an automatic service and the rest continued to be replaced (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 F.1, p.7). This plank is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for the second term’s Post Office policy.

5.2.26 Recreation and Sport

With 24 pledges, recreation and sport was a minor policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to the ‘New Zealand Council for Recreation and Sport’ and declared that:

“The New Zealand Council for Recreation and Sport will be encouraged in its role of fostering and promoting the participation in leisure activities by the citizens of New Zealand;” (43)

The Council’s 1979 report suggested that there was insufficient encouragement from the Government to enable it to fulfil its role. It claimed that “greater resources [would] inevitably be required to meet the costs of effectively promoting recreation and sports activities” (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.20, p.2). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The other recreation and sport promise related to ‘The Local Recreation and Community Development Scheme’ and established that:

“National will increase the funding of this scheme to a minimum of \$1 per head of local population.” (43)

By 1980, “a total of \$3,143,130 was distributed by the Minister [of Recreation and Sport] to territorial local authorities, at a rate of \$1 per head of population” (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 E.20, p.6). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, only half of the second term’s recreation and sport promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.27 Regional Development

With 53 commitments, regional development was a major policy area and six of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“In each region local initiatives and the activities of private enterprise will provide the major drive for development.” (44)

Throughout National’s second term, “emphasis continued to be placed on encouraging the establishment of industries based on the use of regional resources” and private initiatives rather than Government enterprise (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.14, p.17). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Regional Planning and Regional Development’ and referring to resource surveys boasted that:

“The completion of these projects will be supported, and non-priority areas will also be encouraged to attempt similar projects.” (44)

In 1979, “three regional development councils, Northland, Wairarapa, and King Country, published surveys of the resources of their regions, adding to the information base available for the encouragement of resource-based developments in the regions.” This programme was recommended to all RDC’s (AJHR 1979 Vol.7 G.14, pp.16-17). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to ‘Government Support for Regional Development’ and referring to Special Projects Schemes and Regional Investment Allowances claimed that:

“National will retain these programmes and in addition will encourage the further use of special summer season electricity charges for approved irrigation pumping in areas designated as multi-purpose water regions.” (45)

The identified programmes continued and on 1 April 1980, the entire South Island was designated a multi-purpose water region for irrigation pumping “which provide[d] for rebates to be made of 25 percent of the costs of electricity of all irrigation and certain other electricity intensive agricultural activities” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.14, p.18). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth promise related to ‘Small Businesses in the Regions’ and declared that:

“National, having established the Small Business Agency, will ensure that the agency is able to operate effectively in the regions.” (46)

In 1979, the Small Business Agency reported that “at each location area managers ha[d] taken action to service outlying regions (e.g., Northland from Auckland, Wairarapa from Wellington, West Coast from Christchurch) on a regular basis” (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.26A, p.4). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to the ‘Development Finance Corporation’ and established that:

“National will also encourage the Development Finance Corporation to continue to encourage and promote expansion in growth industries such as electronics, plastics, and wine-making.” (46)

Between 1978 and 1981, an increase in the number of projects financed and the value of these increased in each of the areas committed to. Specifically, food and beverages (including wine-making) increased from 20 to 31 projects and in value from \$4m to almost \$14m. Chemicals, rubber, and plastic products increased from 10 to 32 projects and in value from just over \$1m to just over \$2m. Other manufacturing (including electronics) increased from 2 to 18 projects and in value from \$100,000 to almost \$1m (AJHR 1979 Vol.4 B.26, p.7 & 1981 Vol.1 B.26, p.7). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth and final regional development plank related to ‘Rural Resource Development Zones’ and asserted that:

“Special measures to be introduced by the Rural Bank for such areas will include assistance for service and processing industries, including the fishing industry in such zones.” (46)

By 1981, the Rural Bank was undertaking assessments of the viability of proposals in such zones, “principally in the horticultural and fishing areas, but also including other rural industries.” The number of projects which qualified under this process increased from 40 in 1979 to 43 in 1981 (AJHR 1981 Vol.1 B.25, p.17). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s regional development planks are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.28 Science and Technology

With 30 pledges, science and technology was a medium-sized policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Scientific Research’ and boasted that:

“Particular emphasis will be placed on new products and processes as a basis for economic growth and diversification.” (47)

This emphasis meant that “significant breakthroughs [were] made with new products like fruit nectars, fruit leathers and fruit wines” between 1978-81 (NZNP 1981, p.95). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to ‘Research Co-Operation’ and claimed that:

“National will continue to make the greatest possible use of New Zealand's scientific resources of equipment and manpower by encouraging consultation, co-operation and co-ordination among all bodies involved in scientific research.” (47)

“In partnership with the private sector and other Government Departments, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research provided the essential research and scientific know-how needed to get projects underway” between 1978-81 (ibid, p.94). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final science and technology commitment related to the ‘Science Councils’ and declared that:

“National will support the activities of the science-based councils, the existing research associations, and encourage the formation of new ones to ensure that the continuing high standard of scientific research is maintained, and also that community views and needs are appropriately considered.” (48)

While in theory, Bill Birch (the second term’s Minister of Science and Technology) states that “National definitely supported the formation of research associations” (pers. com. 2/5/07), according to NRAC reports, the activities of the science-based councils were negatively influenced in the late 1970s by “the sheer economic necessity of restraining scientific expenditure in the public sector” (AJHR 1979 Vol.8 G.20, p.3). On balance, therefore, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the second term’s science and technology commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.29 Social Welfare

With 31 planks (one more than science and technology), social welfare is another medium-sized policy area and once again three of these are assessed. The first related to ‘Concessions’ and established that:

“Telephone, television, rates and other concessions will continue for those categories of income tested beneficiaries currently eligible for these concessions.” (49)

At 31 March 1978, “telephone rental and television licence fee concessions [were] available to national superannuitants whose income, including national superannuation, [was] within the limits of \$88.20 a week for married couples and \$60.80 a week for single persons. These concessions [were no longer] available to persons receiving national superannuation” by 31 March 1979 (AJHR 1978 Vol.4 E.12, p.29 & 1979 Vol.6 E.12, p.28). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge related to ‘The Child’ and referring to community child care centres asserted that:

“National acknowledges that support is necessary and will therefore, in areas of special need, provide assistance with the acquisition of buildings, initial equipment and administration.” (49)

National did substantially increase its support of community child care during its second term. “The Government contribution towards running expenses [including administration was] \$7.80 a week for each child, and \$348,505 was paid in the year ending 31 March 1979 (1978: \$126,990). A 66⅔ percent subsidy [was] also available for approved building projects [including initial equipment], and \$157,340 was paid out under this heading (1978: \$97,364). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final social welfare promise related to the ‘Disabled’ and boasted that:

“National recognises that at present there are no comprehensive statistics on the range and needs of the disabled persons living in New Zealand and will

ask the Department of Statistics to gather this information as part of the 1981 Census, or earlier if possible.” (50)

“Disability was examined in the Social Indicators Survey [1980-1] by asking people about their ability to carry out a number of every-day tasks” (Department of Statistics 1981, pp.27-8). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, once again, two-thirds of the second term’s social welfare promises are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.30 South Pacific Affairs

With 32 commitments (one more than social welfare), South Pacific affairs is yet another medium-sized policy area and like the previous two, three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Economic Affairs’ and claimed that:

“National will assist the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand in the establishment of an upgraded external radio service serving, in particular, Tonga, Western Samoa, Fiji, Niue and the Cook Islands.” (50)

By 1981, this still had not happened so that “the quality of reception in the Pacific [was] erratic, owing to the substandard transmitters, and some Polynesian countries decided to rebroadcast the Australian Broadcasting Commission’s news which ha[d] greater technical reliability” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 F.3, p.14). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to ‘Development Assistance’ and referring to New Zealand’s understanding of the South Pacific’s developmental problems declared that:

“National will accordingly continue to assist the developing countries of the region in their plans for social progress through the establishment and extension of health services, water and electricity supplies, and communication facilities.” (51)

Between 1979 and 1981, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported having extended health services and public utilities [including water supplies] in “the Cook Islands, Niue, Fiji, Western Samoa, Tonga and Papua New Guinea.” In addition, “assistance

in mini-hydro electricity projects in Fiji and the Solomon Islands” was provided and “in Tuvalu, a number of projects in transport and communications aimed to reduce the isolation of its nine small coral islands scattered over a large tract of ocean” were completed (AJHR 1979 Vol.1 A.1, p.31 & 1981 Vol.1 A.1, p.31). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final South Pacific affairs pledge related to ‘Polynesian Affairs in New Zealand’ and referring to Pacific Island home ownership established that:

“National will continue to provide assistance for housing loans in line with Maori housing policy.” (51)

In 1979, Maori Affairs reported that “the department provide[d] housing assistance for Pacific Islanders who ha[d] become New Zealand citizens” as it did for Maori (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 E.13, p.12). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, like the previous two policy areas, two-thirds of the second term’s South Pacific affairs pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.31 State Services

With only 11 promises, state services is less than one-third the average policy size and one of these was assessed. It related to the ‘Maintenance of Essential Services’ and referring to the essential services listed in the amended First Schedule to the Industrial Relations Act 1973 asserted that:

“National will continue to ensure that these essential services are maintained.” (52)

Air transport was listed as an essential industry in the Act, but the number of stoppages in this essential industry/service doubled between 1977 and 1980 resulting in diminished service and the promise being coded as unfulfilled (NZS 1977 Vol.4, p.3562; AJHR 1978 Vol.5 G.1, p.55 & 1981 Vol.3 G.1, p.57). This represents a 0% fulfilment rate for the second term’s state services policy.

5.2.32 Tourism

With 16 commitments, tourism was less than half the average policy size and two of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Promotion’ and referring to a larger allocation of funds to promote New Zealand boasted that:

“The amount of this funding will be carefully reviewed from time to time in line with the recommendations of the Tourism Advisory Council.” (53)

“The 1978 report of the [Tourism Advisory] council which established targets and guidelines for the continued development of tourism [was] examined by the Government [in 1979]. Most of its principal recommendations relating to promotion and marketing [including the funding of this] and the extension of export incentives to the tourism industry [were] adopted in whole or in part” (AJHR 1980 Vol.3 G.25, p.4). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other tourism plank related to the ‘Tourist Hotel Corporation’ and claimed that:

“National will continue to endorse the present role of the Corporation in complementing private sector tourist interest in New Zealand.” (53)

“During [National’s second term] there was no change in Government policy conveyed to the [Tourist Hotel] corporation” (AJHR 1981 Vol.3 G.24, p.10). Given that this was a status quo plank and that no change was implemented, it is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term’s tourism planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.2.33 Transport

With 35 pledges, transport was a medium-sized policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to airline ‘Third Level Operations’ and declared that:

“The Air Licensing Authority will continue to carefully assess the needs of each area and issue licences accordingly, with due regard to the maximum efficiency of aircraft, equipment, safety standards and services and to safeguard the private operators autonomy.” (54)

The Air Services Licensing Authority did continue to assess applications in respect of licences and with reference to the established criteria as pledged (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 F.5, p.26). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to ‘The Rail Mode’ of transport and established that:

“The third National Government has set about improving New Zealand's rail system and will continue to build on the very real achievements of the last three years.” (54)

Between 1978 and 1981, “New Zealand Railways progressively upgraded rolling stock, bridging, tunnelling and tracks. New management accounting systems and a computerised traffic monitoring system provided a better base for efficient commercial management. The electrification of the North Island’s main trunk line from Palmerston North to Hamilton” was commenced (NZNP 1981, p.106). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final transport commitment related to ‘Road Safety’ and referring to a programme aimed at improving the attitudes of road users asserted that:

“The programme will be based on an intensive study into the high accident rate amongst the younger and immature drivers in the 15 to 24 year old age group.” (55)

“Because of the accident record of young drivers a research programme to develop changes to the training and licensing of young drivers [was] undertaken” from 1 December 1978 (AJHR 1979 Vol.6 F.5, p.14). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s transport commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.34 Women

With 53 planks, women's policy is a major area and six of these were assessed. The first related to 'Women and the Law' and boasted that:

"The Family Court will have specialist Judges, and support services to provide help when needed, with the overall aim of being easily accessible and to function more simply and less expensively." (56)

In 1980 National established The Family Court. Along with support services, the Family Courts Act 1980 stipulated that "a person [should] not be appointed to be a Family Court Judge unless he is, or is eligible to be, a District Court Judge and he is, by reason of his training, experience, and personality, a suitable person to deal with matters of family law" (NZS Vol.2, p.1221). This judicial specialisation means the plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to 'Women and Employment' and claimed that:

"To maximise workforce potential and to minimise the difficulties which parents with family responsibilities face, National will provide special officers of the Employment Division of the Department of Labour, with responsibilities to encourage all employers, in both the public and private sector, to provide work patterns suitable for family needs such as job sharing." (56)

This pledge is substantially indistinguishable from the last industrial relations pledge and is coded as unfulfilled (op.cit. for details).

The third promise related to 'Women and Education' and referring to special problems for women associated with children declared that:

"National will, therefore undertake a review of television programmes especially designed for children, and will evaluate their effect on children with a view to deciding what educational television might be provided." (57)

This does not appear to have been on the agenda by the second half of 1979 as Mr Minogue (MP for Hamilton West) urged that consideration be given to the problem and that the kind of initiative promised was required, but clearly his own government

was not acting in this regard (NZPD Vol.425 1979, p.2550). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to ‘Child Welfare and Education’ and established that:

“National will extend the 1977 Budget announcement of providing for vacant accommodation in primary schools to be made available for pre-school services.” (57)

By 1980, National was still providing for “pre-school classes in primary schools [and] informal play groups meeting in vacant classrooms” (AJHR 1980 Vol.2 E.1, p.6). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth plank related to ‘Women and Housing’ and referring to urban renewal projects asserted that:

“These projects will be required to take account of the wishes of those already living in areas due for renewal, and such people will be fully consulted before commercial and residential renewal proceeds.” (57)

The Local Government Amendment Act 1979 required notice of urban renewal to be given, but protected the right of councils to undertake such renewal even when they accidentally omitted to provide said notice. There was also no requirement in the legislation to take account of resident’s wishes or for full consultation with them (NZS Vol.2, p.961). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The sixth and final women’s pledge related to National’s ‘Continuing Commitment’ to women’s rights and boasted that:

“National will actively encourage the Human Rights Commission to scrutinise all legislative proposals that have an impact on the position of women and the family.” (58)

In 1981, the Human Rights Commission reported how discouraged it was by the Government’s unwillingness to alter certain legislation it had scrutinised and found wanting. For example, “the Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act came into force on 1 April 1981.” The commission was “disappointed that it did not provide

any recognition of the parental role of the father despite the recommendations of the commission on this point. While the Act provide[d] very important protection for working women, it [did] not encourage men to share and enjoy the responsibility of child rearing. It tend[ed] to reinforce sex role stereotyping rather than allow for flexibility in child care” (AJHR 1981 Vol.2 E.6, p.14). This could not be interpreted as active encouragement of the commission’s scrutinising responsibility. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the second term’s women’s pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.35 Works and Development

With 44 promises, works and development is another major policy area and the last of the manifesto. Four of these were assessed and the first related to ‘Water and Soil Resources’. It claimed that:

“In continuing its policy of multi purpose development of water and soil, National will ensure close co-ordination between power boards and catchment authorities in the investigation and promotion of river development involving small hydro schemes.” (58)

In 1980, the Minister of Energy stated that “it [was] not expected that any proposals w[ould] be considered by the Committee on Local Authority Hydro Development in the immediate future” (Hon. W.F. Birch NZPD Vol.436 1980, p.5571). Previously, there had been one proposed, but it was not supported. This does not constitute promotion of small hydro schemes. This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second and third commitments related to ‘Public Works’ and the first of these made reference to a revised Public Works Act in declaring that:

“Features in the legislation will be all designations of land for a public work will be reviewed as part of the Town and Country Planning Act procedures every 5 years when those affected will have full right of objection and appeal.” (58)

Amendments to the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 included in the Public Works Act 1981 did enable any affected person to object or appeal at required 5-yearly reviews (NZS Vol.1, pp.572-3). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other public works plank established that:

“Provision will be made for extension of the principle established by the second National Government of solatium payments in recognition of the personal distress and inconvenience suffered by people who are displaced by public works;” (59)

The Public Works Act 1981 fulfilled this plank by enacting the following provision: “...where any land that has been notified and that contains a dwelling used as a private residence is taken or acquired for the public work for which it was notified there shall be paid to the owner of the land the sum of \$2,000 by way of solatium” (ibid, p.452).

The fourth and final works and development pledge related to the ‘Contracting Industry’ and asserted that:

“National will continue to promote the role of the private contractor in construction and will encourage the utilisation of contractors' resources and expertise.” (59)

In the final quarter of 1980, the Minister of Works and Development pledged to the House that “as a matter of policy we are trying to use the contract system whenever possible” (Hon. W.L. Young NZPD Vol.434 1980, p.3962). This appears to represent a promotion of the role of private contracts and sees this pledge coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the second term’s works and development pledges are coded as fulfilled.

5.2.36 Second Term Summary

There were 35 sections in National’s 1978 General Election Policy and all of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. After one term in office, many of the initiatives of the incoming government had been acted upon and a greater number

of status quo promises replaced them. In addition, it is possible that incumbent governments make fewer promises as doing so can highlight their own deficiencies.

Out of a total sample of 128 promises, National fulfilled 101. This represents a fulfilment rate of 79%. While it is four percent higher than the first term and two percent higher than Labour, it is still similar enough to be within the margin of error. However, this would initially suggest that National did indeed manage to build on its first term and improve its performance to some extent. Given that the 1979 Iranian revolution had created another oil shock, which seriously compromised New Zealand's economy, it could be considered an unexpected result. This was followed by the 1981 Springbok tour which divided the nation along philosophical lines, but probably helped National "cling to power by a thread" (Templeton 1995, p.164). These events served to colour an election which proved to be a cliffhanger. National went to the electors in 1981 with their first PR-style glossy manifesto entitled 'This Is Your Future' (NZNP 1981). The election was ultimately decided by 36 votes in Taupo giving National 47 seats in the House as opposed to 45. With the speaker, it effectively gave them a one-seat majority, enough to last only two and a half more years. In actual fact, Labour had received more votes than National for the second election in a row and with Social Credit getting two seats and over 20% of the vote, National was in power for a third term with less than 39% of the electorate voting for them to be a part of their 'future'. The next section of this chapter will indicate the extent to which that future reflected the set of promises made to the New Zealand electorate in 1981 by a National Party embarking on its third term in office.

5.3 *THIRD TERM: 1981-4*

This Is Your Future (TIYF) contained in total, 315 pledges on 108 pages representing an average of just fewer than three promises per page. This indicates a pledge density that was less than half that of the first term and the lowest recorded so far. With nearly twice as many pages as the previous GEP, but less than a quarter of the promises, there was much said with not much pledged and those pledges tended to be less specific.

5.3.1 Title and Contents Pages

The title and contents pages contained three commitments and one of these was assessed. It boasted that:

“New Zealand's economic growth will provide work, prosperity and security for everyone.” (1)

New Zealand's real economic growth actually increased as a percentage between 1981 and 1984 from 1.1 to 2.7. However, this did not provide work for all as National said it would. In fact, the number of registered unemployed ballooned during National's third term from 41,400 in 1981 to 77,000 in 1984 (Dalziel and Lattimore 2001, pp.134-5). This represents an 86% increase in unemployment and is very different from the work, prosperity and security envisaged. This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

5.3.2 New Zealand Society

With nine planks, this foreword introduced National's “policies for the decade of the 80s” (NZNP 1981, p.1). The one assessed related to ‘New Opportunities’ and referring to not relying on other nations for our energy supplies claimed that:

“Fortunately, New Zealand is energy rich, and National's development of our resources will ensure our quality of life.” (6)

“After the introduction of the incomes and prices freeze in June 1982, real wages fell for three years in a row.” In fact, by the end of the TNG, real wage rates were the lowest they had been since 1973 (Dalziel and Lattimore 2001, p.100). This had a negative impact on New Zealander's quality of life and it occurred regardless of National's resource development. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

5.3.3 Agriculture

With 10 pledges, agriculture was a medium-sized policy area and one of these was assessed. It related to the Party's statement that 'Agriculture [would] Continue to Grow with National' and declared that:

"National will ensure that agriculture maintains its role as the key overseas exchange earner through the 1980's." (10)

In 1984, "a small range of primary products (meat, wool and dairy products) provided 56 percent of export receipts (58 percent in 1983, 59 percent in 1982)" (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.9 G.14, p.29). While their importance decreased during National's third term, these three agricultural exports were unequivocally New Zealand's key overseas exchange earners into 1984. This pledge is coded as fulfilled. This represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term's agriculture policy.

5.3.4 Communications

With 11 promises, communications was also a medium-sized policy area and once again, only one of these was assessed. It related to 'Broadcasting[s] Continuing Progress' and referring to television established that:

"Private sector participation will be introduced progressively to complement public services." (16)

In 1985, BCNZ reported the following: "Following the report of the Tribunal on regional private television a direction was given by the previous [National] Minister to a development of regional private television stations." (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.7 F.4, p.3). This introduction of private sector participation sees the promise coded as fulfilled. This represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term's communications policy.

5.3.5 Defence

With 18 commitments, defence was a major policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Seeking Security and Stability through Our Alliances’ and asserted that:

“National will continue to develop our defence relationships with the United States and Australia, as well as with our Pacific Island partners and the ASEAN nations.” (20)

“At the end of the thirty-first annual meeting of the ANZUS Council held in Canberra in June 1982 Ministers reaffirmed their strong commitment to the ANZUS Treaty and expressed satisfaction with the level of military co-operation established among the partners. New Zealand [also] gain[ed] wider training opportunities [with] Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, The Philippines, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga” (AJHR 1983 Vol.5 G.4, pp.5-7). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other defence plank related to ‘Equipping the Royal New Zealand Air Force’ and referring to the purchase of three Boeing 727s boasted that:

“They will be used for long range passenger flying and will release the Hercules transport aircraft for tactical operations.” (21)

According to the 1983 defence report, “the acquisition of Boeing 727 aircraft increased substantially the RNZAF’s air transport capacity and provided the ability to move a sizeable number of troops over long distances in a relatively short time. As a result the C130 [Hercules] aircraft [were] relieved of most of their passenger carrying duties. Their employment [then] concentrated more on the freight transport and tactical tasks appropriate to th[at] aircraft’s design” (ibid. G.4A, p.33). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the third term’s defence planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.6 Economy

With only five pledges, the economy was a minor policy area and just one of these was assessed. It related to National's 'Overdrive for the Energy Drive' and referring to the capacity of methanol production to free us from the risk of oil supply instability claimed that:

"It will also enable us to use our hard-earned income from lamb and beef to buy the products we want, instead of using all our meat income to buy oil."
(25)

"In 1983 2.95 million tonnes of oil and oil products were imported at a cost of NZ\$1,382 million, compared with 1982 imports of 3.33 million tonnes at a cost of NZ\$1,371 million." Meanwhile, our lamb and beef receipts for 1983 totalled \$1,692.5 million (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.4 D.6, p.45 & Vol.9 G.14, p.63). This indicates that National did diminish our oil imports and that the sale of our meat provided more foreign exchange than was required to cover our fuel bill. This pledge is coded as fulfilled. This represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term's economic policy.

5.3.7 Education

With 10 promises, education was a medium-sized policy area, but still only one of these was assessed. It related to 'More Help for Students Wanting to Help Themselves' and declared that:

"The present Tertiary Assistance Grant Scheme will be adjusted to better meet the needs of students who do not live in university centres." (29)

"A new system of tertiary assistance grants was introduced in 1983. Students under 20 years of age [could then] claim an accommodation grant if they ha[d] to live away from home because their course [was] not available locally" (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.5 E.1,

p.40). This promise is coded as fulfilled. This represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term's education policy.

5.3.8 Employment

With 21 commitments, employment was the third largest policy area in 1981 and two of these were assessed. The first related to National's idea that 'More People [were] Needed for More Service' and referring to the service jobs created by the Southland aluminium smelter established that:

"The long list of forestry and energy based projects planned for the 1980's will provide similar job opportunities in other regions." (33)

According to the Prime Minister in 1982, employment forecasts were reported to predict "an extra 11 000 positions available in forestry by the end of the decade and 79 000 jobs associated with energy" (Rt. Hon. R.D. Muldoon NZPD Vol.445 1982, p.2167). As some of these projects came on line before the end of the TNG, job opportunities associated with them were provided. This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other employment plank related to 'A Policy with a Future' and making a prediction asserted that:

"Economic recovery will not happen overnight." (34)

While real economic growth increased overall during National's third term, unemployment increased dramatically and real wages decreased significantly as was mentioned earlier. In addition, New Zealand's terms of trade dropped and interest rates leapt. These are some of the more obvious indicators of economic expansion or contraction and the majority were not indicating recovery by the end of National's third term (Dalziel and Lattimore 2001, p.134). Ironically, according to the Hon. R.O. Douglas (MP for Manurewa), this plank was fulfilled as he concluded in June 1984 that "the [National] Government's economic performance ha[d] been the worst recorded by any New Zealand Government. The massive deterioration of public finances [w]as the outstanding characteristic of the Government. The progressive

increase in the Budget deficit, together with the resulting ratchetting increase in interest payments as a percentage of Government spending, [was] a fundamental weakness in the Government's imprudent, reckless, tired, and incompetent economic management" (NZPD Vol.456 1984, p.13). Such evidence suggests that there was certainly no overnight economic recovery during National's third term. Overall, both of the third term's employment planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.9 Energy

With 13 pledges, energy is a medium-sized policy area, but only one of these was assessed. It related to 'Leading the World' by developing petrol from Maui gas and boasted that:

"This production of petrol from Maui gas will substantially reduce our dependence on imported oil." (37)

"In the early 1980s, a synthetic petrol plant was built at Motonui to produce 25% of New Zealand's petrol requirements from natural gas" (Ministry of Economic Development 2007). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. This represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term's energy policy.

5.3.10 Environment

With nine promises, the environment was a minor policy area, but still one of these was assessed. It related to 'A Future for Endangered Species' and claimed that:

"Habitat preservation will be greatly assisted by the recently established biological resource centre within the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research." (42)

One of the functions of The Biological Resources Centre which it was reportedly fulfilling in 1982 was to "develop ways of obtaining information for the many parts of

New Zealand and the many landscape and habitat types for which no information ha[d] been collected” (AJHR 1982 Vol.6 G.21, p.38). This process of information gathering and habitat identification was an important step in the preservation process. This promise is coded as fulfilled. This represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term’s environment policy.

5.3.11 Fishing

With 16 commitments, fishing was a major policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to ‘New Vessels’ and referring to the harvesting of species such as bluefin and skipjack tuna and mackerel declared that:

“Larger vessels will also be needed to harvest deep-water species such as the orange roughy.” (44)

By 1983, it was reported that “concentrations of orange roughy on the Challenger Plateau and the Wairarapa Coast [were] being exploited” by larger commercial vessels (AJHR 1983 Vol.3 C.5, p.30). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other fishing plank related to the declaration that ‘Fishing [would] Continue to Grow with National’ and referring to assisting and establishing the industry established that:

“National’s policies will be geared to achieving these aims, recognising the vital importance of the fishing industry in terms of regional development, employment opportunities and its ability to make a most valuable contribution to our economy.” (46)

In 1982, Mr W.R. Austin (MP for Awarua) reported to the House that “the policy New Zealand ha[d] pursued in fishing [was] one of the most forward thinking and most economic fishing propositions in the world. That [was] a record of which both the fishing industry and the National Government c[ould] be very proud” (NZPD Vol.443 1982, p.355). National’s assistance in the establishment of New Zealand’s fishing industry during its third term justifies coding this plank as fulfilled. Overall,

both of the third term's fishing planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.12 Forestry

With 10 pledges, forestry was a medium-sized policy area, but only one of these was assessed. It related to '26,000 Tonnes Growth Everyday' and asserted that:

"Major investment projects are planned to cater for the new volumes of timber which will be coming on the market in the next 15 years." (52)

The production volume of timber actually decreased during National's third term from 2 270 433m³ in 1981-2 to 2 095 570m³ in 1983-4 (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.4 C.3, p.49). This diminished volume has the pledge coded as unfulfilled. This represents a 0% fulfilment rate for the third term's forestry policy.

5.3.13 Health

With 13 promises, health was another medium-sized policy area, but two of these were assessed. The first related to 'The Nation's Health and National's Growth Strategy' and boasted that:

"National will continue to encourage and assist hospital boards to extend their community health and domiciliary care services, such as home help, meals on wheels, laundry services, district nursing and chiropody." (56)

"An additional \$1.8 million was made available by the Government in 1981-2 for community health care provided by hospital boards. Priority was given to podiatry services, particularly for the elderly, and domiciliary services, especially night nursing services. Also included were home renal dialysis and diabetes education services" (AJHR 1982 Vol.4 E.10, p.40). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other health commitment related to 'National's Commitment' to health services and claimed that:

“We will encourage greater efficiency and give growing emphasis to community health services and the prevention of ill-health.” (58)

While the fulfilment of the previous promise indicates the growing emphasis given to community health services, according to the third term’s Minister of Health, “more was accomplished for no more money which is proof of efficiency.” There was also an “increase [in] the General Medical Services Benefit because that would reduce tertiary health spending” and prevent more serious ill health. Other efficiencies introduced included the equitable funding formula (which redistributed money from areas of lower use to higher need and “meant transferring huge amounts of money from Otago to Auckland”). Another saving came by redesigning “the pathologists request form so that millions of dollars was saved (it became a written request rather than a box-ticking exercise) and “allowing hospital boards to roll over unspent funds and invest.” This all occurred against a backdrop of the construction of “Starship Children’s Hospital, children’s wings in both Wellington and Dunedin Hospitals and the rebuilding of Christchurch Hospital while maintaining free prescriptions” (Hon. A.G. Malcolm pers. com. 9/5/07). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the third term’s health commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.14 Housing

With 14 planks, housing was yet another medium-sized policy area and once again, two of these were assessed. The first related to first home seekers’ ‘Right to Choose’ and referring to the choice between building a new home or buying an existing one declared that:

“National will continue to ensure that first home seekers have this right to choose.” (65)

The Housing Corporation reported in 1983 that its “lending was generally restricted to first home seekers receiving a modest family income to help them build or buy their own home” (AJHR 1983 Vol.2 B.13, p.7). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other housing pledge related to ‘Housing in the 1980s’ and established that:

“While housing policy will be adapted to meet changing social needs, the key emphasis of National's housing policies will be to ensure that the Housing Corporation can concentrate on its traditional role of assisting low income families;” (66)

The Housing Corporation continued to make interest concessions to low income borrowers acquiring their first home throughout National’s third term (AJHR 1982 Vol.2 B.13, p.6 & 1984-5 Vol.3 B.13, p.7). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the third term’s housing pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.15 Industrial Relations

With 10 promises, industrial relations was also a medium-sized policy area, but only one of these was assessed. It related to ‘Relating Wages to Real Growth’ and referring to a wage-tax package, which National had endeavoured to get agreement on during its second term, asserted that:

“This wage-tax package is still desirable and will be an objective of a National Government.” (69)

“The tripartite [Government, Federation of Labour & Combined State Unions] wage policy talks concluded in April [1983] without an agreement on a wage/tax trade off” (AJHR 1983 Vol.5 G.1, p.31). Because of not achieving their objective, this promise is coded as unfulfilled. This represents a 0% fulfilment rate for the third term’s industrial relations policy.

5.3.16 Law and Order

With 17 commitments, law and order was a major policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to National's philosophy that the public's 'Protection [was] Paramount' and boasted that:

"We have given the Police the personnel, money, and powers to ensure their continuing strength, effectiveness, and morale; have given the Courts power to confiscate vehicles used in the commission of crimes; and will pass legislation to protect women and children from domestic violence." (72)

In 1982, National passed the Domestic Protection Act which stated: "Where a man and a woman are or have been living together in the same household, either the man or the woman may apply to the Court for an order restraining the other party from using violence against, or causing bodily harm to, the applicant or a child of the family, and from threatening to do so" (NZS Vol.2, p.843). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other law and order plank related to National's commitment to 'Reforming Outdated Laws' and claimed that:

"We will maintain and enhance a democratic Parliamentary system that commands the respect of everyone; particularly by the further development of such instruments as the Official Information Bill which makes Governments more accountable and involves the people even more in the democratic process." (73)

National did further develop the Official Information Bill by enacting it on 17 December 1982. It was "an Act to make official information more freely available, to provide for proper access by each person to official information relating to that person, to protect official information to the extent consistent with the public interest and the preservation of personal privacy, to establish procedures for the achievement of those purposes, and to repeal the Official Secrets Act 1951" (NZS Vol.3, p.1374). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the third term's law and order planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.17 Manufacturing

With 30 pledges, manufacturing was the largest policy area in 1981 and three of these were assessed. The first related to ‘Promoting Efficient Industries to Guarantee Jobs’ and referring to the aim of actively promoting efficient industries which could face world competition and provide goods of reasonable price and good quality to consumers declared that:

“This is the best method of achieving sustainable growth and to guarantee jobs and will be achieved by providing effective protection, through tariff and import licensing, for New Zealand manufacturing industries;” (77)

Tariff and import licensing continued throughout National’s third term and “although the application of the Customs Tariff result[ed] in the collection of revenue, its primary function [was] to give protection and assistance to New Zealand agricultural, horticultural, and manufacturing industry” (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.3 B.24, p.26). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to ‘Growth Through New Technology’ and established that:

“The new technology industries will be a very important growth sector in the 1980s.” (77)

According to the Prime Minister in 1982, employment forecasts for the 1980s were reported to predict strong growth “in the electronics industry, in which 9000 new jobs [would] be created” (Rt. Hon. R.D. Muldoon NZPD Vol.445 1982, p.2167). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final manufacturing commitment related to ‘Promoting Confidence’ and referring to the confidence with which the manufacturing sector had moved into the 1980s asserted that:

“National is committed to the pursuit of policies that will promote this mood of confidence and assist the industry to achieve the ambitious growth targets that have been set.” (78)

At the end of National's second term, export receipts from manufactured products totalled \$965.3m, but by the end of its third term, they totalled \$1,769.3m. This represents an increase of over 83% and an overachievement of the Manufacturing Development Council's growth targets (AJHR 1982 Vol.6 G.14, p.50 & 1984-5 Vol.9 G.14, p.63). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, once again, 100% of the third term's manufacturing commitments are coded as fulfilled.

5.3.18 Overseas Trade

With nine planks, overseas trade was a minor policy area and one of these was assessed. It related to 'Closer Links with Australia' and boasted that:

"The negotiations leading towards a closer economic relationship with Australia will ensure that the broad based trading relationship developed under NAFTA continues to flourish in the 1980s." (84)

1982 "witnessed the conclusion after 3 years of negotiations of the Australia New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement [CER]. The agreement had the objective of developing closer economic relations through a mutually beneficial expansion of trade. The [CER] Agreement replace[d] the 1965 New Zealand-Australia Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Particular care was taken to ensure that it [would] not diminish trade opportunities in place under the NAFTA" (AJHR 1983 Vol.5 G.14, p.47). This plank is coded as fulfilled. This represents, yet again, a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term's overseas trade policy.

5.3.19 Regional Development

With 22 pledges, regional development was the second largest policy area in 1981 and two of these were assessed. The first related to 'Economic Growth Based on Growth in the Regions' and claimed that:

"National believes the role of central Government is to co-ordinate regional and national planning, encourage and support local enterprise, foster the full

use of resources in each region and, determine parameters which will encourage and reward initiative.” (88)

By 1983, Mr Burdon (MP for Fendalton) was able to say the following to the House: “I congratulate the Government on the initiatives it is taking in developing and promoting regional growth. Since its inception in 1973, the regional development programme has moved from one being designed to assist slow-growth regions to retain existing industry and attract new industry, to [what is now] a programme to encourage the full use of the resources of each region, regardless of whether or not the region is a slow-growth area” (NZPD Vol.450 1983, p.48). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other regional development promise related to ‘New Energy from Our Natural Resources’ and referring to National’s ‘Think Big’ projects declared that these were:

“Projects that will turn our energy resources into export earners such as methanol, aluminium and steel.” (90)

Increased energy exploitation and production through National’s ‘Think Big’ projects in the early 1980s did result in export earnings from the introduction of methanol production at Motonui and Waitara, continued aluminium production from cheap electricity supply to Tiwai Point and expansion of steel exports from Glenbrook with power options from electricity or gas. In fact, according to the third term’s Minister of Regional Development, “methanol was exported all over the world from Waitara during the term of the TNG” (Hon. W.F. Birch pers.com, 2/5/07). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the third term’s regional development promises are coded as fulfilled representing, once more, a 100% fulfilment rate.

5.3.20 Science and Technology

With 10 commitments, science and technology was a medium-sized policy area and one of these was assessed. It related to ‘Growth in Jobs’ and established that:

“The new technology industries will be a very important growth sector in the 1980s.” (94)

This commitment is identical to the second manufacturing commitment and is coded as fulfilled (op.cit. for details). This represents another 100% fulfilment rate for the third term’s science and technology policy.

5.3.21 Social Welfare

With only seven planks, social welfare was a minor policy area, but still one of these was assessed. It related to moving ‘Towards Participation and Equality’ and referring to The Rehabilitation Review Committee asserted that:

“The Review Committee will suggest principles and guidelines for future direction and development.” (99)

The Rehabilitation Review Committee reported in June 1982 when they “concluded that certain fundamental principles should apply in the overall approach to New Zealand’s future rehabilitation problems.” It then went on to specify the guidelines and suggestions recommended in relation to these (Article 59). This plank is coded as fulfilled. This represents yet another 100% fulfilment rate for the third term’s social welfare policy.

5.3.22 Tourism

With nine pledges, tourism was a minor policy area and one of these was assessed. It related to ‘Promoting New Zealand’s Attractions’ and referring to the Export Performance Tax Incentive and Export Promotion Grant boasted that:

“These incentives will remain in place at least until 1985.” (102)

Because National was no longer in office in 1985, this pledge can only be judged by its status at the time of the 1984 election. That year, “the 67.5 percent rebate on certain overseas promotions costs and the 10 percent export performance incentive on

net foreign exchange earnings continued to provide valuable assistance to operators” (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.9 G.25, p.27). Therefore, this pledge is coded as fulfilled. Once more, this represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term’s tourism policy.

5.3.23 Transport

With 10 promises, transport was a medium-sized policy area and the last of the manifesto, but still only one of these was assessed. It related to ‘The Road to Success’ and referring to road transport regulations claimed that:

“Wherever some regulation is still required, National will constantly examine ways to make sure the regulations are easy to understand and administer.”
(107)

In “September 1982, as part of a review of transport licensing, the ministry [of Transport] released a discussion document on land transport licensing and regulation and called for submissions” with a view to making administration procedures more user-friendly (AJHR 1983 Vol.4 F.5, p.6). This promise is coded as fulfilled. For the eighth time in succession, this represents a 100% fulfilment rate for the third term’s transport policy.

5.3.24 Third Term Summary

There were 27 sections in This Is Your Future (1981) and 23 of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. The four policy areas omitted were ‘Arts’, ‘Foreign Affairs’, ‘Horticulture’ and ‘Maori Affairs’. These areas contained between six and nine promises each and the representative selection process did not allow for their inclusion because the promises they contained were not the next tenth promise in order.

Out of a total sample of 32 promises, National fulfilled 28. This represents a fulfilment rate of 88%. This is substantially higher than even the previous high for the second term of 79% and statistically significant. It suggests that National’s third term achieved a commendable level of policy implementation from a domestic or international perspective, with other majoritarian systems normally recording 70-80%

fulfilment rates. This result probably occurred as Muldoon maintained a dogged philosophy of implementing the manifesto, there were no significant shocks to the economy, returns from major Government projects began to accrue and international trade with Australia was boosted with the inception of CER. However, given the fact that National only had a one-seat majority from 1981 and this eventually meant that there was a snap election in 1984, the third term was really only two and a half years long. With this in mind, whether one agrees with the policies or not, the third term's record of achievement is worthy of note.

5.4 THIRD NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SUMMARY

Out of a total sample of 304 promises, National fulfilled 237. This represents a fulfilment rate of 78%. This makes the overall result for the third National Government very similar (1% higher) to that of the previous Labour Government and within the margin of error (6%). It also makes it very similar to policy implementation levels in the UK around the same period (Conservative Government 1979 – 81%, Royed 1996). Notwithstanding this, it has been suggested by at least one of the Government's senior ministers that more could have been done had the previous government made more prudent financial decisions. For example, relative to housing, George Gair (Minister of Housing, Social Welfare and Transport) has said: "When we won office, we found housing projects had been approved by my predecessor without any certainty of Treasury finance being available to follow through on them. Indeed, my over-riding recollection is that the Labour Government's splash on housing approvals in the run up to the election was so far ahead of their Government's financial provision for follow-through that my key task on becoming Housing Minister was to pull the industry back from an unsustainable (in a financial sense) rate of housing construction to something more realistic" (pers. com. 6/6/07). Nevertheless, the TNG progressively improved their policy implementation performance from 1975-84. This supports the hypothesis that it becomes easier to fulfil promises, the longer a party is in government due to both a greater degree of control over the means of fulfilment and making promises with more accuracy and realism once an incumbent. The irony here is that it seems the longer a party is in power, the more it keeps its promises, but generally, the more it loses electoral support. This was certainly the case for the TNG.

CHAPTER SIX: FOURTH LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1984-90

As the third government to be analysed in this study, the Fourth Labour Government (FLG) came to power as the result of a snap election in July 1984, with more seats than any party had managed to secure in any previous election in New Zealand's history. This "saw the beginning of a period of radical change in New Zealand that has left no aspect of life untouched" (Wilson 1989, p.1). These changes caused considerable tension between the non-parliamentary Labour Party and the Labour caucus. It also created dissension within the parliamentary party, which resulted in coups, counter-coups, disaffection and shattered expectations both inside and outside government. By the 1990 election, "just nine members of the original twenty-member Cabinet elected in 1984 remained in office" (Holland and Boston 1990, p.1). In addition, Labour had inherited a serious financial crisis from the outgoing Muldoon administration, which meant that some very tough decisions would need to be made. This expediency had to be measured against the implementation of policies in a manifesto, which was hastily put together as the early election required shortcuts to be made to the policy formation process. Notwithstanding this, Labour's 1984 Policy Document contained over 600 more pledges than the 1987 version. Overall, there were 2916 pledges made in the two major election policy documents of 1984 and 1987. This chapter will present an assessment of a representative sample of 10% of those commitments, 292 in all.

6.1 FIRST TERM: 1984-7

The 1984 Policy Document of the New Zealand Labour Party (1984 PDNZLP) contained in total, 1779 pledges on 103 pages, representing an average of more than 17 promises per page. This indicates a density which was slightly less than that of Labour's 1972 Manifesto.

6.1.1 Agriculture

This policy area probably highlights as good as any that the 1984 PDNZLP was notable more for what was not said than for what was. Labour presented a comparatively small agricultural policy which perhaps concealed the extent of the reforms that would take place as SMP's (Supplementary Minimum Prices) were removed along with a range of other subsidies such as those for fertilisers that were not prefigured in the 38 commitments presented in the 1984 PDNZLP of which four were assessed. The first two of these related to getting young farmers onto the land. The first of these asserted that:

“The next Labour Government will implement a comprehensive package of policies with the specific aim of once again getting young and new farmers onto the land.” (1)

The aim of the Rural Bank's land purchase policies was to assist experienced and creditworthy young farmers into farm ownership through the provision of long-term finance. “In late 1984 the bank reviewed its lending guidelines in relation to its objective of achieving soundly based settlements of young farmers. Arising from this review, the loan and formal experience requirements for settlement and other land purchase were relaxed. The total number and amount of loans approved for settlement purposes increased by 7.7 percent and 10.2 percent respectively over the 1983-84 levels” (AJHR 1985 Vol.3 B.25, p.10). These changes did make it easier for young and new farmers to get land. This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge in this sub-policy area boasted that:

“Opportunities for individual ownership of forest farms will be presented to foresters and farmers who obtain the necessary experience.” (2)

During 1984 Farm Advisory Officers became “increasingly involved in forestry land use issues; especially in Northland, the Central Plateau, the east coast of the North Island, Nelson and Central Otago regions. This included evaluation of on-farm forestry systems as an alternative land use option” (AJHR 1985 Vol.4 C.5, p.24). The

promotion of farm forestry and assisting in the work of the New Zealand Farm Forestry Association were major achievements for the New Zealand Forest Service and when these were coupled with the relaxed loan criteria, opportunities for individual ownership of forest farms did increase (AJHR 1987 Vol.4 C.3, p.6). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The third agriculture commitment related to government support and claimed that:

“Labour is, therefore, committed to an aggressive market search and exporting drive as a top priority and will carry through the necessary reforms in the marketing of meat and wool.” (2)

Some policies on marketing arrangements for agricultural products were reviewed. The major change was in sheepmeat marketing, but changes were also worked through in a number of other areas. These involved progressively transferring responsibility for export marketing from Producer Boards to private exporters with an incentive for profitable innovation in improving marketing services. These reforms were supported by market studies of major trading partners such as Japan as a means of identifying areas of export potential (AJHR 1986 Vol. 4 C.5, p.13). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final agricultural pledge related to rebuilding rural communities and referring to industry-based hort- and silvicultural practical training courses detailed that:

“Such work experience will be counted as a qualification for later settlement.” (3)

Applicants for Rural Bank Farm Settlement Loans were “required to be well experienced and fully competent to undertake the type of farming proposed.” Course practicum assisted applicants in meeting the work experience eligibility criteria (AJHR 1985 Vol.3 B.25, pp.10-11). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, then, all of the assessed agricultural commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.1.2 Arts

With only 17 planks, arts was well below the average of 46 and therefore one of the less well represented areas. Two of these were assessed for fulfilment and the first related to a proposed Cultural Policy Review and established that:

“The review will streamline the administration of Government support for the arts.” (4)

It appears that this review did not take place between 1984-7. In addition, by 1987 Labour was still making a similar promise to “bring all government activity related to artistic and cultural heritage together” (New Zealand Labour Party 1987 Policy Document [NZLP 1987 PD], p.4). This is a reasonable indication that the proposed streamlining had not occurred. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The other arts promise related to funding and asserted that:

“In addition, the practice of funding important arts activities from lottery funds will be reviewed.” (4)

It appears that this review did not take place and between 1984-7 lottery funding for the arts increased by \$250,000 as it still contributed over a third of arts total funding (Department of Statistics 1985, p.266 & 1987, p.305). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled. As neither of the arts planks assessed were fulfilled, this represents a 0% fulfilment rate.

6.1.3 Broadcasting

With 34 pledges, broadcasting was a smaller policy area and three of these were assessed. The first of these related to a proposed Royal Commission on the Future of Broadcasting and Telecommunications in New Zealand and boasted that:

“The Commission will be given terms of reference concerning computer links, data bases and their relation to public and private access;” (6)

While this commission was appointed in 1985, none of its' terms of reference specified anything in relation to computer links or data bases (AJHR 1986 Vol.9 C.2, pp.8-13). The Minister of Broadcasting has explained this by suggesting that the final term of reference "broadly gave the Commission the power to look into 'any other related matter'. This could have included the matter referred to. Remember that in 1985 this whole area of data links etc was in its infancy. There was certainly no attempt to restrict the Royal Commission in any way in regard to this matter" (Hunt, pers. com. 29/1/08). Thus, while it is true that the Commission could have looked at these matters, the terms of reference did not require them to do so as the promise suggests they would. Therefore, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to television and claimed that:

"If the National Government sells any of the existing public facilities of either channel, a Labour Government will buy back whatever has been sold for the price paid when it was sold." (6)

As of 10 July 1984, there was no record of BCNZ (Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand) facilities having been sold on the annual accounts therefore a buyback was not necessary (AJHR 1984-5 Vol.7 F.3, p.21). Given that this was a conditional pledge and the condition never occurred, it is only fair to consider this fulfilled.

The third and final broadcasting promise to be assessed related to Maori and Pacific Island programmes and detailed that:

"Labour will encourage the Broadcasting Corporation to provide appropriate facilities and to recruit and train sufficient staff already fluent in the use of Maori and Pacific Island languages." (7)

"TVNZ's commitment to the strengthening and development of an independent and indigenous production presence on screen was demonstrated in the appointment of a Commissioning Editor to pursue an increase in the acquisition of independent productions, and in the setting up of a Maori Programmes Department whose Head had a special involvement in establishing a training scheme for Maori broadcasters" (AJHR 1986 Vol. 6 F.3, p.6). Similar encouragement was provided for Pacific Island broadcasting as well with Tagata Pasifika first screening in 1987 with Pacific Island

staff involved in its' production. This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the first term's broadcasting planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.4 Consumer

With just 11 pledges, consumer policy was one of the smaller areas and only one of these was assessed. It related to a proposed Ministry of Consumer Protection and established that:

“The Ministry will be a small compact co-ordinating body, acting to develop and implement a range of policies that will protect consumers and to promote and encourage the valuable work done by various community consumer organisations.” (9)

“The Ministry of Consumer Affairs was established on 1 July 1986 as a division of the Department of Trade and Industry but directly responsible to the Minister of Consumer Affairs. The Ministry's functions are: to advise the Government on matters affecting consumers; to promote and participate in the review of consumer related legislation, policies and programmes; to promote awareness among consumers and the business sector of their rights and obligations in the market place; and to support and co-ordinate non-Government involvement in consumer issues” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.12). This promise is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.1.5 Defence

Another small policy area with only 14 commitments was defence and two of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“The next Labour Government will take whatever action is necessary to defend the independence and territorial integrity of New Zealand.” (10)

In “July 1985...the Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior was sunk at its berth in Auckland...by a bomb attack which killed a crew member.” It was established that

“elements of French military forces had been deliberately introduced into New Zealand, under orders from their Government, without the permission of the Government of New Zealand and in derogation of our sovereignty” (Palmer in Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1985, pp.23-24). The Government’s inability to defend New Zealand’s independence and territorial integrity from an act of terrorism such as this sees this plank coded as unfulfilled.

The other defence pledge related to New Zealand Defence Forces overseas and boasted that:

“The next Labour Government will end our battalion commitment in Singapore and ensure adequate accommodation is available for the return of this battalion.” (10)

“The withdrawal of NZ Force South-east Asia was completed on 20 December 1989, effectively reducing New Zealand’s military presence from 720 to 21 personnel”. These personnel resettled in defence accommodation in New Zealand “with the key army element, 1 RNZIR being taken into the Ready Reaction Force” (AJHR 1990 Vol.6 G.4:HY, pp.9&11). Even though this promise was not fulfilled until the second term of the FLG, the initial commitment was based on the action being accomplished by ‘the next Labour Government’. This plank is therefore coded as fulfilled. Overall, 50% of the first term’s defence pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.6 Disabled Persons

With 32 promises, the disabled persons policy was more than twice the size of defence, but still below the average. Three of these were assessed. The first related to administration and claimed that:

“Where necessary legislation will be enacted to provide the necessary platform for comprehensive and imaginative rehabilitation programmes.” (12)

No acts were passed during the period 1984-7 to provide the necessary platform for comprehensive and imaginative rehabilitation programmes (NZS 1984-7). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to employment and detailed that:

“The Labour Government will ensure that a constant and fair number of jobs for disabled persons will be made available within the State sector.” (12)

Government departments were required to meet the “demand for the placement of people with disabilities in the Public Service.” Sixty places were “allocated for the Employment of Disabled Persons scheme” and by the end of the FLG’s first term, 57 had been filled (AJHR 1988 Vol.10 G.3, p.20). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final disabled persons promise related to the education of those with special needs and established that:

“Labour will improve staffing ratios;” (13)

Labour introduced a new policy relative to teachers in care centres provided by the New Zealand Society for the Intellectually Handicapped, which provided “one trained teacher and an assistant for every 6 students.” During 1985, 11 classes were established, equipped and staffed and this was to be repeated in 1986 and 1987 (AJHR 1985 Vol.5 E.1, p.18). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the first term’s disabled persons planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.7 Economic

This was the most substantial policy area in the 1984 PDNZLP by far. With reference to it, David Lange commented: “...we were gloriously unspecific on economic policy, so it has been very difficult for anyone to pin on us a wavering from our stance before the election” (1986, p.20). There was in fact a testable level of specificity in the first term’s economic policy which has made it possible to ‘pin’ any wavering on the Government thereby challenging both of Lange’s assumptions. In all, there were 134 economic pledges and 13 of these were assessed. The first, by way of background, asserted that:

“Care will be needed as we move to solve many problems at the same time.”
(14)

With reference to the level of care undertaken by Labour during the process of economic change associated with the mid-1980s, the Party admitted among other things that the restructuring had been painful (NZLP 1987 PD, p.17). The Government’s lack of care in this regard has been well documented. Robert Stewart (director of Skope Industries in the 1980s) said “you’ve got to remember the pain – this was a time when people were walking off their land” (2004, C12). While many commentators agree that change was necessary, most question the extent and pace thereof and do not describe it as careful, but ‘abrupt’ (Boston and Holland 1987, p.1). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second commitment formed part of the outlined principles and objectives of Labour’s economic policy and boasted that:

“These policies will be applied gradually with the aim of permanently reducing unemployment;” (14)

In March 1984, four months before Labour took office registered unemployment was 68 252 (AJHR 1985 Vol.8 G.1, p.27). By March 1987, this had increased to 78 166 (AJHR 1987 Vol.10 G.1, p.47). During their first term of office, the FLG increased unemployment rather than reducing it. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to economic and social consensus and with reference to widespread consultation, discussions and negotiations, claimed that:

“From this process will come a prices and incomes policy based on genuine negotiations among all the parties.” (15)

“The Economic Summit Conference, sponsored by the Labour Government shortly after the 1984 election, recognised the need for comparable restraint within the community and business sectors during the period of Labour’s economic reconstruction” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.17). However, “as some sector group representatives have remarked, although there was the appearance of consultation it seemed as if the Government was listening no more carefully than had its

predecessor. Indeed, it is hard to think of a decision where the Government was diverted from a major policy stance as a result of consultation” (Easton 1987, pp.139-40). Actually, by mid-1986 David Lange claimed that there was no prices and incomes policy in New Zealand at all (Boston & Holland 1987, p.151). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to incomes and detailed that:

“Labour will review, in consultation with all affected parties, the legislative and administrative procedures used in wage bargaining to ensure that the bargaining process ensures that the structure of wages, when related to the system of taxation and the availability of various public facilities such as housing, health, education, and welfare services, allows all workers to obtain an adequate minimum living income;” (15)

A Green Paper was published in December 1985 detailing proposed changes to the existing wage bargaining system and upon which submissions were invited. Altogether 188 submissions were received and they included views on the national award system and rules around bargaining among many other issues. A small committee of ministers including Geoffrey Palmer, Stan Rodger and Richard Prebble then prepared policy recommendations based on this material which ultimately led to the 1987 Labour Relations Act (Boston and Holland 1987, pp.176-7). The Act reviewed and replaced the Industrial Relations Act 1973 and Part VI made provision for annual tripartite wage negotiations and consultation about the minimum living income. This consultation would involve consideration of the economic environment and the interests of the low-paid (NZS 1987 Vol.2, p.637). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The next four pledges related to Labour’s investment strategy. The first of these established that:

“Labour will re-orient government intervention in investment towards key growth areas of the economy.” (16)

By 1985, the DFC’s (Development Finance Corporation) business mission was “to support projects which will contribute to New Zealand’s economic growth and to encourage and channel resources into commercial activities which are thought

capable of making a worthwhile contribution to the performance of the New Zealand economy” (AJHR 1985 Vol.3 B.26, p.10). While during the 1970s, manufacturing industries had received half of the Government’s development finance, this shifted towards food, beverages and tourism from 1984 as these became key economic growth areas and the largest investment approval sectors (ibid). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment asserted that:

“The selection of industries which are to receive assistance will be made by the government after consultation with industry organisations and trade unions, and after advice from an Industrial Development Board.” (16)

By 1985, there were “discussions concerning the possible establishment of an advisory body on industrial development” (AJHR 1985 Vol.9 G.14, p.15), and there was a Steering Committee established to advise on the proposed Industrial Development Board (IDB) (Ross 1986). However, it seems that the Board never became a reality and therefore could not have advised the Government as suggested. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to a proposed Industry Investment and Assistance Fund and boasted that:

“This will be financed from a number of sources including government tax, loan revenue, or other investments such as superannuation;” (16)

Official records from the period 1984-7 make no reference to such a fund ever having been financed from any source. This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final investment strategy commitment referred to the proposed IDB and claimed that:

“A small number of consultants will report directly to the Board and the Minister on the effectiveness of assistance.” (16)

As mentioned above, the Board never eventuated. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The next two pledges also related to Labour’s industry assistance policy and referring to the allocation of existing import licences, the first of these detailed that:

“Any additional allocations will be tendered for.” (17)

There was an increased amount of tenderable licence available from 1984-5 under programmes outside of the basic allocation contained in “the Import Licensing Schedule, particularly under ANZCERT, tendering under industry development plans and the Global Tender Scheme” (AJHR 1985 Vol.9 G.14, p.8). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other industry assistance commitment established that:

“A more active workforce planning process will be followed.” (17)

In 1985, Labour terminated subsidised employment schemes and introduced ‘A New Deal in Training and Employment Opportunities’. This precipitated a shift “to an active longer term labour market approach, centred on training and skill development and integration into the workforce” which was followed into the second term of the FLG (Martin 1996, p.345). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The eleventh pledge related to taxation and asserted that:

“In view of these principles, Labour will reform personal income tax to ensure that lower and middle income households are substantially better off when transfer payments and wage adjustments are taken into account;” (17)

The 1985 Tax Reform Package introduced overall personal income tax reductions which created conditions in which most people were better off (Scott 1987, p.196) and the unfair burden on low and middle income households was diminished (NZLP 1987 PD, p.17). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The twelfth commitment related to a retargeting of public resources and boasted that:

“Labour will introduce major changes to government taxation and spending to re-examine where the real benefits of existing assistance measures fall, and take steps to counteract the effects of programmes that widen inequalities.” (18)

The 1985 Budget announced the first steps in reforming the benefit system. They made it fairer by introducing more generous income exemption limits and benefit abatement. While benefits became taxable, it also gave price compensation to beneficiaries for the introduction of GST and included them in Family Support payments. The combination of these measures meant that beneficiaries were actually better off on the introduction of GST thus diminishing inequalities (AJHR 1985 Vol.2 B.6B, p.19). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The thirteenth and final economic pledge to be assessed related to inflation and monetary policy and referring to a review of the Economic Stabilisation and Reserve Bank Acts, claimed that:

“When that process is complete the Economic Stabilisation Act will be repealed.” (18)

On the 1 July 1987 the Economic Stabilisation Act Repeal Act was enacted to repeal the Economic Stabilisation Act 1948 (NZS 1987 Vol.2, p.1317). This promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, seven-thirteenths of the first term’s economic commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.8 Education

Another of the big three policy areas was education. With 106 planks, it was second equal in size with open government, and 11 of these were assessed. The first detailed that:

“Labour will ensure that funds are available to increase and improve New Zealand's commitment to education, particularly to children and young people.” (19)

The FLG was committed in its first term “to ensuring that funds were available to increase and improve New Zealand’s commitment to education, particularly for children and young people.” This was reflected in such measures as the expansion and strengthening of early childhood education, significant increases of teaching staff at

kindergarten, enhancement of teacher education, attention to special education and support for Taha Maori (NZLP 1987 PD, p.20). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related specifically to early childhood education and established that:

“To promote stronger state and community support for early childhood, Labour will improve and lengthen the training of all early childhood educators;” (19)

Russell Marshall introduced funding for this measure in his last budget as Minister of Education at the conclusion of the FLG’s first term in 1987 (pers. com. 28/1/08) and policy approval was given in August just before the election (Hansard 15 Mar 1988 Q.12), but after the 1987 Policy Document was written (NZLP 1987 PD, p.21). This allowed for the universalisation of three year integrated childcare and kindergarten teacher training. This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to primary education and asserted that:

“To strengthen New Zealand’s primary schools, Labour will develop, with full consultation, a new formula for the staffing of primary schools, based on established needs rather than on numbers;” (19)

“The Government approved the employment of 500 additional full time teacher equivalents as a first step in introducing a 1:20 teacher:pupil ratio for staffing junior classes of primary schools. From this entitlement 200 full time teaching positions were established from the beginning of the third school term in 1985, and the remaining 300 full time teacher equivalents were allocated for the beginning of the 1986 school year. Priorities for these allocations were determined following consultation with the New Zealand Educational Institute and the New Zealand Education Board’s Association. Priority was given to schools with students with special learning needs and to schools which needed a large number of teachers to become staffed on the 1:20 ratio” (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.1, p.18). This met the consultation and established needs focus of the proposal and additional teachers from 1986 were to be utilised “to enable a more flexible deployment of staff for the Reading Recovery programme and individual and small group tuition” rather than to simply allocate on the basis of numbers alone (ibid). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth promise related to special needs education and boasted that:

“Labour will alter the 1964 Education Act to guarantee free access for all children to the education or training they need;” (20)

The Education Amendment (No.2) Act 1987 altered the 1964 Education Act so that persons with special educational needs (whether by reason of disability or otherwise) had the same rights to enrol and receive education at institutions established under the Act as persons without such needs (NZS 1987 Vol.4, p.2482). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth plank related to multi cultural education and claimed that:

“To meet the needs of the diverse cultural communities in New Zealand, Labour will improve recruitment of teachers from minority cultures, and improve staffing in multi-cultural schools;” (20)

Teacher training figures for 1985 reflect this improvement. “The special emphasis in the recruitment of Maori and Pacific Island applicants resulted in a significant increase in the number of such applicants accepted for training” (AJHR 1985 Vol.5 E.1, p.34). This produced more minority teachers for primary, secondary and multi-cultural schools. This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth promise related to resources for learning and detailed that:

“Therefore, Labour will expand the role of the National Film Library to strengthen its capability to service the needs of the education community;” (21)

In 1985, the National Film Library began “a video cassette loan service alongside its traditional 16 mm film services.” This major step forward gave schools access to the wide range of programmes being produced in video and television format (AJHR 1985 Vol.5 E.1, p.17). This is evidence of increased capability in servicing the needs of the education community and the commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The seventh plank related to the transition from school to work and established that:

“Therefore, Labour will expand the upper secondary school programme to ensure that appropriate education is provided for all young people;” (21)

The changes that occurred in Form 6 in 1986 as a result of the removal of the University Entrance (UE) examination had far-reaching significance for the education of students in the senior forms of secondary schools. Instead of being seen solely as preparation for university study, the courses leading to Sixth Form Certificate (SFC) provided a wider and more general education. This award more satisfactorily accommodated the diverse needs of students in Form 6, and thus recognised the changing, broader composition of the student population at that level (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.1, p.18). The expansion of UE into a broader SFC sees this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The eighth promise related to continuing and community education and asserted that:

“Labour will initiate a review of all aspects of continuing and tertiary education, to ensure that the total network is effective in meeting the learning needs of the country;” (22)

Developments in vocational community and transition education complemented the considerable review work being done by the technical institute system and continuing and tertiary education organisations. By 1986, there was in place an extensive network that provided for the means of identifying education needs and implementing new developments. In line with Government policy there was also a devolution of responsibility to the providers of continuing education. New Zealand’s continuing education system became well placed to respond to economic developments and to social change with improved vocational and life-long learning opportunities (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.1, p.38). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The ninth plank related specifically to universities and boasted that:

“Labour will expand access to extra-mural study, especially in the South Island;” (22)

Access to extra-mural study expanded from 10 789 students in 1984 to 14 396 in 1987 during a time when Lincoln’s roll fell as Massey’s increased with the assistance of

South Island distance students (AJHR 1984 Vol.5 E.3, p.3 & 1987 Vol.6 E.3, p.3). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The tenth promise related to financial assistance for tertiary students and referring to the idea that access to tertiary education should not be governed by the ability of the student to pay, claimed that:

“Therefore, Labour will abolish the \$1,500 fee for private overseas students.”
(22)

“The fee for overseas students, reduced from \$1,500 to \$1,000 in 1984, was abolished from 1987” (AJHR 1987 Vol.5 E.1, p.5). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The eleventh and final education plank related to educational administration and detailed that:

“To these ends, Labour will revive and strengthen moves to establish regional education authorities with increased responsibilities and greater financial autonomy;” (23)

An identical proposal was made in the 1987 Policy Document indicating that this revival had clearly not occurred (NZLP 1987 PD, p.25). Russell Marshall suggested that the Picot taskforce superseded this idea by instead giving a lot more authority to individual schools (pers. com. 28/1/08). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, ten-elevenths of the first term’s education promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.9 Employment

With 73 commitments, employment was another significant policy area and seven of these were assessed. The first two related to help for the unemployed. The first of these established that:

“Priority for job creation positions will be given to school leavers and the long term unemployed with an aim of reducing the average period of unemployment for the individual.” (24)

The percentage of registered unemployed who were considered long term (over six months) actually increased from 20.4% in 1984 to 24.8% in 1987 (AJHR 1985 Vol.8 G.1, p.27 & 1987 Vol.10 G.1, p.47). In real terms this means that during the first term of the FLG the proportion of unemployed New Zealanders who were long term unemployed increased from one-fifth to one-quarter of the total. This would indicate that the group was not prioritised for job creation positions. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The other pledge offering help for the unemployed related to work oriented training programmes and with reference to these asserted that:

“Co-operation will be sought from local employers, unions, voluntary agencies, and educational representatives.” (24)

In an assessment of the main features of these work oriented training programmes, Kerry Burke (Minister of Employment) noted the involvement of local employers, voluntary community agencies and educational representatives such as tertiary institutes, but there was no mention of union involvement or co-operation (NZPD 1986 Vol.473, pp.3558-9). Whether union co-operation was sought or not is unclear, but in the absence of an official record of such, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The third commitment related to an Employment Promotion Conference and boasted that:

“An Employment Promotion Conference along the lines of the successful Educational Development Conference will be initiated in the first year of the Fourth Labour Government.” (24)

“The Employment Promotion Conference was held in March 1985 as the culmination of a consultative process to review existing employment and training policies which the Minister of Employment initiated shortly after taking office” (AJHR 1985 Vol.8 G.1, p.8). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to regional employment policy and referring to regional project-based assistance for the unemployed, claimed that:

“These projects will include as low an import content as possible;” (25)

Kerry Burke admitted that the proposed regional projects, which were to act as job creation opportunities for the unemployed, were re-evaluated and shelved in “a shift away from project related assistance” in December 1985 (NZPD 1986 Vol.469, p.762). Without these projects, their import content is not applicable. This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to vocational training and detailed that:

“Labour aims, after full consultation, to establish a single, sensible system of vocational training and retraining under one act which will replace the existing apprenticeship system.” (25)

The Industry Training Act 1992 established a single, sensible system of vocational training and retraining under one act that replaced the Technicians Training Act 1967 and the Apprenticeship Act 1983 (NZS 1992 Vol.2, p.845), but it was two years after the FLG left office. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The sixth pledge also related to trade training and established that:

“After the training period students will be paid at least the minimum adult award rate.” (25)

As of 1987, once trade training was completed, every worker was “entitled to receive from his employer payment for his work at not less than th[e] minimum rate” (RSNZ 21, p.508). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The seventh and final employment commitment asserted that:

“Labour will instigate through reappraisal of the role of schools - from examination systems to counselling services - and the continuing education system to ensure equality of vocational opportunity for all school leavers.” (26)

“During 1985 the [Education] department, in conjunction with technical institutes and community colleges, sought modifications to the Young Persons Training Programme (YPTP) and School Leavers Training and Employment Preparation Schemes (STEPS) with a view to more flexible programmes. These changes were effected at the end of 1985 by the Department of Labour when STEPS and YPTP along with the Adult

Retraining Programme (ARP) were combined as a single Training Assistance Programme.” Secondary schools were involved in piloting bridging courses and the UE examination system was modified. Transition tutors/counsellors were trained and a wide range of vocational continuing education providers began offering programmes, courses, modules and link training for all school leavers who were interested (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.1, p.37). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, only three-sevenths of the first term’s employment pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.10 Energy

With 58 promises, energy was yet another large policy area and six of these were assessed. The first related to conservation and boasted that:

“The Labour Party's first objective will be to conserve energy.” (27)

“Over the year to 31 March 1985 the funds available for the energy conservation programme continued to be limited” (AJHR 1985 Vol.4 D.6, p.34). This has also been confirmed by Bob Tizard (Minister of Energy). He believed that because New Zealand’s reserves were depleted in the changeover between the Muldoon and Lange Governments, Labour’s “first priority became conserving money rather than energy” (pers. com. 22/1/08). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to oil exploration and claimed that:

“Emphasis will be given to closer underwater work and to onshore searches.” (27)

“The Crown participated in one of the three offshore wells drilled during the year (1986). This was Awakino-1, off the northern Taranaki coast.” The other two were Galleon-1 off the Canterbury coast and Solander-1 northwest of Stewart Island. Awakino was only about a kilometre off the Taranaki coast, Galleon was a deep well and Solander in a basin which meant that Awakino was the closest underwater work. The Crown also “participated in eight of the eleven onshore wells drilled” that year (AJHR 1986 Vol.4 D.6, pp.13-14). The evident emphasis on closer underwater work and onshore searches by 1986 sees this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The third promise related to gas and detailed that:

“There will be an organised programme to encourage electricity users to shift to gas where it is more efficient and this will be backed up with a trade-in system for partly used appliances.” (27)

The Ministry of Energy reports from 1984-7 make no mention of this system and Tizard confirms that in the first term they “never got as far as that” (pers. com. 22/1/08). With reference to the 1984 energy policy, Tizard also wrote that “what might have been written in policy proposals had to take a back seat” (pers. com. 11/2/08). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth plank related to coal and referring to the postponement of construction of a third thermal station in the Waikato, established that:

“This will enable both a more carefully staged development of the Huntly West underground mine and permit full planning procedures before development of Ohinewai opencast deposits.” (28)

As stated, without the increased coal demand that would have been required had Waikato 3 gone ahead, Huntly west No 1 Underground development and Ohinewai Opencast development were reviewed and progress was slowed down. (AJHR 1987 Vol.5 D.6, p.52). This allowed for full planning procedures to take place and the pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth promise related to hydro electricity and asserted that:

“Labour's primary objectives will be to support regional development in the South Island.” (28)

By 1987, the only hydro electricity dam development project being undertaken was the Clyde Power Project in the South Island (AJHR 1987 Vol.4 D.1, pp.53-4). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth and final energy plank related to new uses for geothermal power and boasted that:

“In geothermal work, uses for low pressure steam, spent steam and hot water in horticulture and manufacturing will have a prominent place.” (28)

No mention is made of using low pressure steam, spent steam or hot water in horticulture or manufacturing in the departmental reports or Hansard for the period. The absence of this is confirmed by Tizard who has stated that “you couldn’t use this water directly because of arsenic which meant expensive purification and it was not economically viable” (pers. com. 22/1/08). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 50% of the first term’s energy promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.11 Environment

Environment was the fourth largest policy area in the 1984 PDNZLP with 85 commitments. Nine of these were assessed and the first claimed that:

“Labour will therefore implement a strategy to integrate conservation and development so that our remaining endangered species and ecosystems and representative examples of our full range of plants, animals and landscapes are protected.” (30)

“The Department of Conservation [DOC] was formally established on 1 April 1987 to ...manage endangered, vulnerable, rare, and protected plants, animals, and ecosystems to ensure their long term viability” (AJHR 1988 Vol. 5 C.13, pp.3&11). The management of protected species and ecosystems by DOC was important in the achievement of this plank. Therefore, it is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to native forests and referring to the introduction of a sustained yield management policy in the Buller within Labour’s first term, detailed that:

“Alternative employment will be ensured with particular attention being paid to the development of already cleared land for agriculture and horticulture and the establishment of plantations of high value, special purpose timber species.” (30)

The number of registered unemployed men in Buller/West Coast increased from 449 on 30 June 1984 to 1040 on 31 March 1987 (AJHR 1985 Vol.8 G.1. p.64 & 1987 Vol.10 G.1, p.64). This means that unemployment increased in the region by 232% during the term while the national increase was 15%. Russell Marshall (Minister for the Environment) confirmed that this policy of alternative employment “didn’t happen” (pers. com. 28/1/08). In fact, this contributed to Kerry Burke getting Labour’s smallest percentage of the vote in a Buller/ West Coast electorate since at least the end of WWII at the following election in 1987 (Norton 1988, pp. 204, 389 & 391). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The third commitment related to national parks and reserves and referring to a policy requiring studies to be made of proposed parks and a submissions process to be undertaken, established that:

“If the studies and evidence from the submissions uphold the recommendations of the National Parks and Reserves Authority, Labour will create a new National Park or extend the existing park or create the reserves recommended.” (31)

The Environment Act 1986 required the new Ministry for the Environment to solicit and obtain information from a range of sources including reference to research and private and public interests and to ensure that this was available to the Minister. In its first term, Labour approved the permanent protection, or increased the level of protection, of over 650,000 hectares of New Zealand’s heritage lands. For the first time in 20 years two new national parks – Whanganui and Paparoa – were approved. In addition to the new West Coast reserves, 128,000 hectares of new reserves and ecological areas were created, with almost 43,000 hectares being added to existing forest parks. Two major new wilderness areas, Tasman and Raukamara, were approved by Labour and a third, the Paparoa Wilderness Area, was approved in principle (NZLP 1987 PD, p.31). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to environmental administration and asserted that:

“Labour will investigate the practicability of introducing a Conservation Corps to direct the talents and enthusiasm of our young people in particular towards sound environmental management.” (31)

The New Zealand Conservation Corps (NZCC) has been in operation since 1989. The programme caters for young people between the ages of 16 and 25 years, with 50% being Youth Action clients of Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ). Youth Action clients are 16-20 year olds who, after being registered for 13 weeks are case managed by WINZ into employment or training. The NZCC programme has as its focus conservation, education, and challenging recreation. Young people are encouraged to participate in projects which benefit not only themselves as they learn sound environmental management, but also their local communities. (Ministry of Youth Affairs 2008) Although this programme did not commence operation until the FLG's second term, the fact that it featured in the 1984 PDNZLP suggests that the practicability of it was investigated during the first term as proposed. This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to environmental planning and boasted that:

“Labour will ensure that whether or not a planned development represents the best use of New Zealand's resources will be a matter to be considered by the Planning Tribunal.” (32)

The workload on the Planning Tribunal had remained constant after the first year of the FLG (AJHR 1985 Vol.5 E.5, p.37). This suggests that there was no increased impetus to ensure Planning Tribunal consideration for planned developments. In addition, Marshall has stated that this proposal “was swallowed up under moves towards the RMA [Resource Management Act] (pers. com. 28/1/08). Ultimately, this did give the Planning Tribunal more regulatory power, but not until the first term of the following National Government (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993, pp. 127 & 133). Therefore, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The sixth pledge related to natural waters and referring to the recognition of wetlands as a scarce resource of nationwide importance, claimed that:

“Accordingly, wetlands already identified as of national importance will be protected with permanent reserve status.” (32)

While the FLG made good progress with reserves generally, this did not include wetlands. “A National Policy on Wetlands was approved by the Government in 1986 but was largely ignored” (Ministry for the Environment 1997). Marshall stated that

this was because “all hands were to the restructuring plough” and this was not a direct part of that process (pers. com. 28/1/08). Indeed, three years after the FLG left office, Buhrs & Bartlett still lamented that one of the outstanding issues relative to the New Zealand environment was “the continuing destruction of wetlands from development (ninety per cent of which [had] already disappeared” (1993, p.52). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The seventh commitment related to mining and detailed that:

“All mining proposals will be carefully scrutinised to ensure that they are in New Zealand's best interests and represent the best use of land resources.”
(33)

The statistics show an 8 percent increase in the number of mining applications on hand between 1985-6, and a 10 percent decrease in the number granted. This reflects a higher level of scrutiny and care to ensure compliance with a best interest and use policy (AJHR 1986 Vol.4 D.6, p.17). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The eighth pledge related to noise pollution and established that:

“Labour will work to bring into effect the recommendations of the 1980 OECD Conference on Noise Abatement policies.” (33)

An identical pledge was made in the NZLP 1987 PD (p.34) which suggests that this work had not been done by 1987. Marshall also confirmed that nothing was done about it (pers. com. 28/1/08). This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The ninth and final environment commitment related to conservation and recycling and referring to a proposed Resource Managements and Recovery Unit that was to be established within the Ministry for the Environment, asserted that:

“The Unit will liaise with the Development Finance Corporation, the Small Business Agency, other government financial institutions, and the Labour Department, to ensure that priority is given to helping achieve sustainability and self-sufficiency.” (33)

Neither the departmental reports, Hansard nor NZS for the period make any mention of such a unit. In addition, Marshall has stated that he has “no recollection” of it (pers.

com. 28/1/08). This plank is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only four-ninths of the first term's environment pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.12 Fisheries

With 28 promises, the fisheries were a smaller policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to deepwater surveillance and referring to the institution of adequate means to govern allocated quotas, boasted that:

“Qualified and trained observers will also conduct much needed research and scientific work.” (34)

In 1987, the newly consolidated deepwater fisheries policy was a decisive move by the Government and included an active research programme that enabled fish stock estimates to be refined and, in turn, allowed a further 150,000 tonnes of orange roughy and hoki to be allocated to the industry (NZLP 1987 PD, p.36). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other fisheries plank related to recreational fishing and claimed that:

“Lavour[sic] will protect the interests of those who enjoy fishing, both freshwater and salt water.” (35)

Total fishing licence sales increased over the period quite considerably. An example of this was an increase of almost 19 percent for the Rotorua and Taupo fishing districts between 1986-7 (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 G.7, p.37). This seems to be a fair indication that the interests of those who enjoy fishing were being protected. This pledge is coded as fulfilled. As both of the fisheries pledges assessed were fulfilled, this represents a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.1.13 Forestry

With 22 promises, forestry was a similar sized policy area to fisheries, but three of these were assessed. The first detailed that:

“Labour will manage New Zealand's forests for the widest benefit of New Zealanders.” (36)

The Director-General of the Forest Service stated that “the ability to obtain a fair return to the taxpayer from the State’s forestry investment would rely, as it had, on periodically expressing the authority of Government rather than solely on competition in the market place.” However, the option chosen during the first term of the FLG was to do just that. It “set up a fully commercial forestry corporation separated from sectoral servicing functions” (AJHR 1986 Vol.4 C.3, p.5). This shifted the benefit obtained from New Zealand’s forests from a wide to a narrow interest base. This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to native forests and established that:

“Labour will encourage the use of timber produced from these forests for high quality purposes.” (36)

In 1986, the Forestry Department was still negotiating the sale of indigenous beech for chip wood. For example, the Department “negotiated a 1-year sale of 50 000 cubic metres of beech chip wood with Nelson Pine Forest Ltd” (AJHR 1986 Vol.4 C.3, p.10). This is clearly a low quality purpose for the use of indigenous timber and the pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The third and final forestry promise related to forestry research and referring to a proposal to have the Forest Research Institute (FRI) contract research work for private companies, asserted that:

“This will make full use of research facilities and make the findings more widely available.” (37)

By 1986, the FRI was required to recover increasing amounts of expenditure over a 3-year period. Consequently, a charging policy was developed in discussion with the private sector of the forestry industry and the commercial arms of the Forest Service. This meant that the FRI worked closely with the forestry sector and co-ordinated its work with that of other research agencies making fuller use of its facilities through collaboration and publishing results more widely through an increasingly diversified

client base (AJHR 1986 Vol.4 C.3, p.27). This commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, only a third of the first term's forestry planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.14 Health

With 27 pledges, health was also of a similar size to the previous two policy areas and two of these were assessed. The first of these related to health care where and when needed and at minimum cost and boasted that:

“A high priority will be given to ensuring an adequate supply of specialist staff in areas of need.” (38)

According to Michael Bassett (Minister of Health), by March 1986, intakes to basic training programmes had been increased in medicine, nursing, physiotherapy, occupational therapy and audiology. Postbasic training had been increased in occupational therapy and several medical specialties experiencing shortages. Overseas campaigns were launched to recruit nurses and junior doctors. Courses to facilitate the re-entry of trained nurses into the work force were strengthened and a fund of \$3 million for 1986-7 was established to enable him to direct resources to trouble spots in the health work force and, more importantly, to prevent expected problems (NZPD Vol.469 1986, p.617). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other health commitment related to reforms in planning, organisation and administration and claimed that:

“In order to establish a fully integrated health service involving hospital boards, Health Department, private and voluntary agencies, Labour will encourage the establishment of area health boards on a progressive basis throughout the country;” (39)

During their first term, the FLG implemented specific health policies and programmes which included the formation of the country's first three area health boards (NZLP 1987 PD, p.40). This plank is coded as fulfilled. As both of the first term's health pledges assessed were fulfilled, this represents a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.1.15 Housing

With 73 promises, housing was one of the bigger policy areas and eight of these were assessed. The first of these related to Labour's housing plan and detailed that:

“Labour acknowledges that the housing crisis will not be solved in a three-year Parliamentary term.” (40)

In 1987, the Labour Government made it clear that “the entrenched problems of the housing sector [were] not solved in one parliamentary term” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.43). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The next two planks related to the role of the state. The first of these established that:

“Access to mortgage finance will be recorded on a fairer basis.” (40)

Specific policies and programmes introduced during the FLG's first term included the housing package in the November 1984 budget, which introduced flexible loans levels reflecting individual family circumstances and regional differences in house prices thus granting access to mortgage finance on a fairer basis (NZLP 1987 PD, p.43). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other promise relating to the role of the state asserted that:

“Labour will continue to review regularly limits for home savings accounts.” (40)

According to Michael Bassett, “the Home Ownership Savings Amendment Bill provided in clause 2 that no new home ownership accounts were to be opened on or after 1 August 1986” (NZPD Vol.474 1986, p.4049). This Bill put an end to home savings accounts thus negating the commitment, which is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth plank related to better utilisation of existing housing and with reference to the concept of purchasing existing homes for modernisation and re-sale, boasted that:

“Encouragement will be given to local authorities to involve themselves in this activity.” (41)

Purchase and rehabilitation loans authorised for local authorities increased by over 3465% between 1985-7 representing ample encouragement to involve themselves in this activity (AJHR 1987 Vol.4 B.13, p.24). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth promise related to rental in the private sector and referring to a proposal to lodge bond money with an independent authority which would invest it in authorised institutions rather than it being held by landlords, claimed that:

“Interest on this money will be used to cover the costs of the tenancy tribunal.” (41)

The Residential Tenancies Act 1986 legislated for all interest paid out of the bond fund to be used in payment of all salaries, wages, fees, allowances, expenses, costs, and disbursements payable to the Tenancy Tribunal (NZS 1986, pp.1213-14). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth plank related to Housing Corporation rental housing and detailed that:

“Labour will build, on request and in accordance with resources, carports and garages on existing Corporation rental homes and charge rent accordingly.” (42)

There is no mention in the Housing Corporation reports or Hansard for the period of carports or garages at all. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The seventh promise related to Housing Corporation services and with reference to its Allocation Committee, established that:

“Appointments to the Committee will be more representative.” (42)

According to Phil Goff (Minister of Housing), “in July 1984 there were 166 members of housing allocation committees; of those, 72 – or 43 percent – were women. As at 3 April 1987 there were 169 committee members, and , of those, 92 – or 54 percent – were women” (NZPD Vol.479 1987, pp.8357-8). This increase in female

representation on the committee responsible for determining priority for home allocation sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The eighth and final plank related to the building industry and asserted that:

“To facilitate development, a New Zealand-wide code of engineering and local by-laws and standards will be introduced, with close regard to different regional needs.” (42)

“The long-awaited decision by Government on the introduction of a national building code to replace the present local authority building bylaws was jointly announced by the Ministers of Local Government and Housing in February 1986” (AJHR 1986 Vol.7 G.15, p.5). The introduction of this New Zealand-wide code sees the pledge coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the first term’s housing promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.16 Immigration

With just 10 commitments, immigration was the second smallest policy area and only one of these was assessed. It boasted that:

“Labour will review the Immigration Act to ensure that immigration procedures are fair and that the civil liberties of the people are properly protected.” (43)

“The Labour Government developed new legislation to replace the outdated and ineffective 1964 Act. The Immigration Bill introduced in August 1986, and referred to a Select Committee, restated and reformed immigration law. The legislation aim[ed] to make clear the basis on which non-New Zealand citizens [could] be in New Zealand, and procedures they [needed to] follow, their rights and opportunities to have their case considered. At the same time the powers of those who administer immigration legislation and policy and the limits on those powers [were] clearly set out. The new Act also aim[ed] to frame immigration law and procedures in a more humane way” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.46). The replacement of the old Act sees this plank coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.1.17 Industrial Development

With 69 pledges, industrial development was one of the larger policy areas and seven of these were assessed. The first related to Labour's industrial development strategy and claimed that:

"The Department of Trade and Industry will be charged with the responsibility for promoting the development of New Zealand industry, including the specific administration of this policy." (44)

In 1985, "the statutory role of the department [of Trade and Industry was] to promote and encourage the improvement and development of industry and commerce, and the export trade of New Zealand." In planning its activities, it was required to consider basic changes in the thrust of the economic and assistance policies of the new Government (AJHR 1985 Vol.9 G.14, p.4). This charge sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to encouragement to new industries and detailed that:

"To encourage the establishment of new industries, including competitive import substitution industries, Labour will offer, where appropriate management assistance through the Development Finance Corporation (including the Small Business Agency);" (44)

By 1986, "the Management Counselling Service continued to be the major contributor to SBA's [Small Business Agency] activities" (AJHR 1986 Vol.3 B.26A, p.3). This management assistance through the SBA sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to finance for industry and referring to the DFC, established that:

"The Corporation will give special assistance to those sectors of commerce and industry which offer the best returns in exports or import substitution, and job creation." (45)

This was actually the DFC's traditional approach and during the FLG's first term it continued to give priority to those worthwhile development projects which were foreign exchange earning or saving or involved job creation (AJHR 1986 Vol.3 B.26, p.4). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to the Industries Development Commission (IDC) and asserted that:

"Labour will ensure that the operations of the Industries Developments [sic] Commission are directed towards the development and expansion of industry." (45)

In 1987, the IDC reported that one of the main areas towards which its activities were directed was "the efficient administration of industry development plans and their review where appropriate" (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 G.14, p.12). The direction of the IDC's operations towards industrial development sees this promise coded as fulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to research and development and boasted that:

"Priorities for industrial research conducted by government agencies will be determined after consultation with industry." (45)

According to David Caygill (Minister of Trade and Industry) in July 1986, "over the [previous] 2 years, the Government ha[d] taken a number of policy decisions aimed at encouraging increased private sector investment in research and development. Those decisions include[d] encouraging Government funded research establishments to become more closely associated with the research and development needs of industry" (NZPD Vol.472 1986, p.2946). This association with industry infers consultation and sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The sixth pledge related to Labour's competition policy and with reference to the role of the Commerce Commission in determining market dominance relative to mergers and takeovers, claimed that:

"Labour will ensure that the Commerce Commission has sufficient resources to clear the backlog in this area, and Labour will implement workable law to prevent the growth of monopolies." (46)

Labour introduced a new Commerce Act in 1986 which required the Commerce Commission to give clearance to a notified merger or takeover proposal only if it was satisfied that implementation would not result in the acquisition or strengthening of a dominant position in a market. Between 1 May 1986 and 31 March 1987 “no notified proposal was denied clearance or authorisation, despite the great number received, and the large size and scope and significance of the issues involved in many” (AJHR 1987 Vol.8 G.34, p.6). The passing of this legislation and the processing of all proposals so that they were up-to-date by the time of the end of the FLG’s first term see this promise coded as fulfilled.

The seventh and final industrial development commitment related to import licensing and with reference to the 1984 allocation, detailed that:

“Wherever appropriate, additional licences required from time to time will be issued through the licence tendering system.” (46)

There was an increased amount of tenderable licence available from 1984-5 under programmes outside of the basic allocation contained in “the Import Licensing Schedule, particularly under ANZCERT, tendering under industry development plans and the Global Tender Scheme” (AJHR 1985 Vol.9 G.14, p.8). This plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the first term’s industrial development pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.1.18 Industrial Relations

With 42 promises, industrial relations was a slightly smaller than average-sized policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to wage bargaining and established that:

“Labour will review, in consultation with all affected parties, the legislative and administrative procedures used in wage bargaining to ensure that the bargaining process permits greater flexibility in the outcome of the bargaining process in particular areas, industries, occupations or enterprises.” (47)

According to Denis Marshall (National – Rangitikei) in 1986, the Labour Government had “retained national awards and given the unions the right to decide that certain groups of workers [could] negotiate separate agreements” (NZPD Vol.474 1986, p.4764). This level of flexibility meant that certain areas, industries, occupations or enterprises could adapt wage agreements to meet specific and localised needs. This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The next two planks related to trade union education and the first of these asserted that:

“Labour will ensure that New Zealanders are well informed about industrial relations matters and guarantee informed and active participation by trade unionists both in their unions and in their employment.” (48)

The Industrial Relations Division of the Labour Department “produced a comprehensive ‘Guide to the Labour Relations Act 1987’ for labour relations practitioners, a booklet entitled ‘Workers and the Labour Relations Act’ in question and answer form, and organised public notice of the implications of the legislation, before the Act came into force on 1 August 1987” (AJHR 1988 Vol.10 G.1, p.17). This ensured that all of those responsible for and affected by the industrial and employment relations matters outlined by the new Act could be informed and actively participate in the implementation process. This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other trade union education promise boasted that:

“Labour will negotiate with the Broadcasting Council with a view to the development of radio and television programmes which inform and educate the public about trade union matters;” (48)

No reference is made to this in the Labour Department reports, Hansard or the NZLP 1987 PD and when questioned about it, Stan Rodger (Minister of Labour) stated unequivocally that “it didn’t happen” (pers. com. 24/1/08). This commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final industrial relations plank related to state services and claimed that:

“The next Labour Government will be absolutely committed to consultation and fair negotiation with its employees.” (48)

“In the early part of 1986, the Minister of State Services (Stan Rodger) established a consultative committee of six to discuss reform of the State pay fixing system. In the event, consensus was not reached” (AJHR 1987 Vol.10 G.3, p.18). However, according to Rodger, this was “because the unions broke away from negotiation” rather than because the Government was uncommitted to consultation and fair negotiation with its employees. The Buff Report entitled ‘Pay fixing in the State Sector: a Review of Principles and Procedures in the Fixing of Pay and Associated Conditions in the New Zealand State Sector’ resulted and this ultimately led to the new State Sector Act (pers. com. 24/1/08). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the first term’s industrial relations promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.19 International Affairs

With 57 commitments, international affairs was an above average-sized policy area and five of these were assessed. The first related to the search for peace and detailed that:

“Labour will support the efforts of other nations to establish nuclear weapons-free zones and to keep the Antarctic nuclear free.” (50)

“The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty came into force in December 1986, ratified by nine members of the South Pacific Forum, including New Zealand” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.51). This support for broadening the nuclear weapons free environment internationally sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to ANZUS and with reference to a re-negotiated treaty, established that:

“The basic requirements of such an updated agreement will be the active promotion of a Nuclear Weapons-Free South Pacific;” (50)

ANZUS did not survive an update from New Zealand's perspective because our non-nuclear stance was inflexible. "Strenuous efforts were made during the earlier part of 1986 to reach an accommodation with the United States that would have both maintained the integrity of New Zealand's anti-nuclear policy and permitted a resumption of defence co-operation under the ANZUS treaty. These efforts ceased in June, when it became clear that such an accommodation was impossible in the prevailing circumstances. In effect, the Americans said that if New Zealand wished to be treated as an ally, it would have to accept American nuclear weapons in its ports from time to time. After his meeting in Manila with the Prime Minister on 27 June, the United States Secretary of State, Mr Shultz, stated that the two countries parted as friends, but they parted company" (AJHR 1987 Vol.1 A.1, p.13). Even though the ANZUS agreement never ended up being updated, this was because Labour insisted that the basic requirement for such was active promotion of a nuclear weapons-free South Pacific and the promise is therefore coded as fulfilled.

The third commitment related to Australia and asserted that:

"Labour believes that a broad regional approach is necessary to ensure the prosperity and security of the Pacific and will continue to develop closer relations with Australia." (51)

An identical plank can be found in the NZLP 1987 PD (p.53) which indicates that Labour's belief in this principle was consistent and that it was applied during their first term because the status quo was reasserted. Examples of this can be seen late into the first term with Australia's Foreign Minister, Bill Hayden, visiting Ohakea for informal talks with David Lange as "evidence of the on-going close co-operation and consultation between the two countries" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1987 No.3, p.28). In addition, CER was extended to cover steel, apparel and footwear, a reciprocal social security act was passed and Lange announced that the historic yacht Akarana would be restored and presented to Australia as New Zealand's gift to mark the Australian Bicentenary (ibid, pp.28-9). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to Antarctica and with reference to the objectives of the Antarctic Treaty, boasted that:

"Labour will therefore participate fully and actively in the Treaty system to these ends." (52)

As examples of this, in 1985 New Zealand along with the other 31 states, which were party to the treaty, participated in the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting “which discussed a range of issues relating to Antarctica.” In addition, the New Zealand delegation to the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources “actively encouraged the development of additional requirements related to conservation” (AJHR 1986 Vol.1 A.1, p.12). These efforts indicate full and active participation in the Antarctic Treaty system and this promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final international affairs commitment related to discrimination and justice and claimed that:

“The next Labour Government will honour and uphold the principles of the Gleneagles Agreement, abide by its provisions, and not permit the entry into New Zealand of sports teams from the Republic of South Africa while that country practices apartheid.” (52)

In 1987 “the Government reiterated its commitment to co-operate with the Commonwealth in efforts to bring an end to apartheid and to establish a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. The only major sporting contacts with South Africa during [1986] were by rebel teams: the Cavalier rugby team and a group of surf life-savers. The Government deplored the inadequate response of the Rugby Union to the Cavaliers’ tour and gave strong support to the efforts of the Surf Lifesaving Association to dissuade the lifeguards from competing in South Africa. At the United Nations New Zealand supported four resolutions on apartheid, and again co-sponsored a resolution on concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid” (AJHR 1987 Vol.1 A.1, p.40). These efforts represent an honouring of the Gleneagles Agreement and the exclusion of South African sporting teams such as the Springboks from New Zealand including from the 1987 inaugural Rugby World Cup see this plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the first term’s international affairs pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.1.20 Justice

With 47 promises, justice is also one of the above average-sized policy areas and once again five of these were assessed. The first related to the principles underpinning Labour's justice policy and detailed that:

"The policy will ensure that everyone enjoys equality before the law;" (53)

In 1985 the Department of Justice revealed that "the imprisonment rate for young Maori males and females [was] no less than a tragedy for New Zealand, and while it [was] in large part a consequence of much higher offending and arrest rates it [was] also due in part to the fact that the criminal justice system seem[ed] to work to the disadvantage of the Maori people" (AJHR 1985 Vol.5 E.5, p.4). Geoffrey Palmer (Minister of Justice) suggested that the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 ensured the fulfilment of this commitment (pers. com. 30/1/08). However, even if that were the case, it was enacted three years too late for the first term to claim it as the implementation of a 1984 plank. We are left, then, with the admission from the Department of Justice that during the FLG's first term, justice was not administered equally. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The second promise related to courts and tribunals and established that:

"The next Labour Government will establish Small Claims Courts in more centres as quickly as possible, review their jurisdiction and encourage them to sit partly outside normal working hours;" (53)

The number of applications filed in Small Claims Tribunals between 1984-6 increased by 56%. "Two principal factors contribute[d] to these increases: the raising of the level of claims from \$500 to \$1000 and the extension of Small Claims Tribunals to cover all full-time District Courts. This was achieved on 1 October 1986 with the establishment of twenty-two new tribunals at: Kaitaia, Dargaville, Pukekohe, Morrinsville, Putaruru, Te Awamutu, Opotiki, Waihi, Huntly, Tokoroa, Te Kuiti, Rangiora, Wairoa, Stratford, Waipukurau, Dannevirke, Marton, Fielding, Upper Hutt, Westport, Alexandra and Balclutha. Following an evaluative study of Small Claims Tribunals by the Policy and Research Division [of the Department of Justice], a working party was established to review existing systems." Recommendations arising

were considered including sitting partly outside normal working hours (AJHR 1987 Vol.5 E.5, pp.18-19). The increase in tribunal numbers, expansion of jurisdiction and review of availability evidenced by the foregoing see this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to law reform and asserted that:

“Labour will establish a full-time Law reform Commission with the responsibility for examining existing laws and reporting on reform needs.”
(54)

On 1 February 1986 the full-time Law Commission came into being with the responsibility for examining existing laws and reporting on reform needs. “It replaced five part-time law reform committees” (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.5, p.3). This pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth promise related to privacy and boasted that:

“Labour will examine the law relating to the collection, access, challenge, disclosure and storage of computerised personal information.” (54)

By 1987, “Labour ha[d] begun to examine the law relating to the collection, access, challenge, disclosure and storage of computerised personal information” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.59). However, according to Palmer, while this process led to the new Privacy Act, neither the examination nor the Act it spawned were finished before the 1987 election (pers. com. 30/1/08). Therefore, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The fifth and final justice plank related to Labour’s penal and prison policy and claimed that:

“Labour will encourage recruitment of prison officers with improved training, pay and conditions;” (55)

“Training provided to new prison officers was revised and extended from 1 January 1987. The new programme expand[ed] induction training from three weeks to nine weeks and provide[d] for attendance before the recruit commence[d] employment.” Improved pay and conditions were associated with the 1987 award (AJHR 1987 Vol.5

E.5, p.34). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 60% of the first term's justice promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.21 Lands

With only 11 commitments, lands was one of the smallest policy areas and one of these was assessed. It detailed that:

“The Land Use Inventory will be completed as quickly as possible;” (56)

This had not occurred by the 1987 election as the NZLP 1987 PD contained a similar plank by proposing that “the new Department of Survey and Land Information [would] compile inventories of land use information” (p.60). The first term's only lands pledge assessed is coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate.

6.1.22 Local Government

With 34 promises, local government was a below average-sized policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to the functions of local government and with reference to expanding these, established that:

“Adequate funding will be made available for additional functions undertaken by local government.” (57)

Government funding of local authorities actually decreased between 1984-7 (AJHR 1985 Vol.8 G.7, p.14 & 1987 Vol.7 G.7, pp.18-19). According to Michael Bassett (Minister of Local Government), “the promise got lost in the overall restructuring of local government that came into force in October 1989. The government was short of money, and there were savings to be made from amalgamations that took place when more than 700 local authorities were reduced to 93. The problem hasn't gone away, however, because over the last decade, environmental concerns in particular have seen central government saddle local government with all sorts of requirements at extra (unremunerated) cost. Today that particular promise in 1984 touches an

extremely raw nerve” (pers. com. 29/1/08). The inadequacy of funding, represented by the figures and these sentiments, see this commitment coded as unfulfilled.

The second plank related to local body loan finance and asserted that:

“Labour will establish a Local Authority Loans Corporation which will raise funds for on-lending to local bodies where this is appropriate.” (57)

The Department of Internal Affairs makes no mention of the establishment of this corporation in their reports from the period, there are no statutes to incorporate it and there is no reference to it in either Hansard or the NZLP 1987 PD. According to Bassett, “as the 1984-87 government struggled to bring inflation under control by, amongst other things, reducing public expenditure, it wanted no extra spending by local government. That election promise was posited on the assumption that central government would assist local government spending using the state’s capacity to borrow on their behalf at cheaper interest rates. The promise was deliberately put to one side. Getting public agencies out of the loan market between 1984 and 1988 was a top government priority because too much borrowing under Muldoon had become the main driver of high interest rates that were between 15 and 20% at the time. Business needed borrowing to expand to create jobs, and artificial means of controlling interest rates had only increased public spending which was the prime cause of inflation. That promise re local authority borrowing just got pushed aside because it ran counter to overall government policy” (pers. com. 29-30/1/08). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The third promise related to regional government and with reference to not financing new activities from rates, boasted that:

“Instead revenue sharing will be introduced by progressively replacing subsidies with direct grants.” (58)

“Revenue sharing with regional and territorial authorities commenced on 1 October 1986. There [were] two components to the revenue sharing scheme – a general revenues assistance component and an incentive grant component” (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 G.7, pp.18-19). The introduction of revenue sharing and the shift from revenues assistance (subsidies) towards grants under the Territorial and Regional Authorities Incentive Grant Scheme see this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final local government plank related to improving local democracy and claimed that:

“Labour will review the system of remuneration of local authority members to ensure that prospective candidates are not prevented from standing by the likelihood of financial embarrassment if elected.” (58)

Michael Bassett made the following statement regarding this pledge; “I did a huge review of remuneration for all councillors in 1986, shocking my cabinet colleagues with my generosity. Legislation wasn’t necessary: I possessed the delegated authority. I did it in fulfilment of that promise. I made two further adjustments upwards before retiring from cabinet in February 1990. Since then the rises granted by ministers of Local Government have been regular, but small. The average city councillor in a big city today earns a total of about \$40,000 made up through a basic allowance topped up with meeting fees. A chair of a major committee on a big council earns today about \$75,000 all up. Prior to my time as minister there was no basic allowance for councillors, and only a token payment for attendance at either a committee meeting or a full council. As late as 1974 when I was an Auckland City Councillor, I received \$5 for a meeting of the council and about \$250 per annum all up. Hospital Board members got little or no remuneration until in my dual capacity as Minister of Health and Local Government in 1986 I introduced an honorarium for a major hospital board chair of about \$25,000 pa. They are paid more today” (pers. com. 29/1/08). This pledge is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 50% of the first term’s local government promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.23 Maori

With 74 commitments, Maori was a major policy area and seven of these were assessed. The first related to the Treaty of Waitangi and the Waitangi Tribunal and detailed that:

“The Tribunal will be given power to examine all claims back to 1840.” (59)

“The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 was amended in 1985 to enable the Tribunal to hear claims from 6 February 1840” (AJHR 1987 Vol.5 E.5, p.37). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to the Maori Land Court and established that:

“Labour will improve the servicing of the Maori Land Court and upgrade and computerise all Maori Land Records to the stage where they can be registered in the Land Transfer office.” (60)

“Normal services to the public were maintained in Maori Land Court registries, in spite of the difficult task which started in April 1986, to computerise the details of 24,443 Maori freehold lands and the 1,112,765 owners of those lands. Good progress [was] maintained but a lot of work still remain[ed] to be done” by election year (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 E.13, p.10). The pledged improvement was therefore not completed during the first term and this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The third commitment related to Maori language and culture and asserted that:

“Believing that language is the basis of culture, and that Maori people have a right to foster and promote their own culture, Labour will give recognition to fluency in Maori in all appropriate positions in the State sector;” (60)

By 1986, “Maori language and cultural training [was] being made available to all personnel [in the Department of Maori Affairs], extending to specialist courses at technical institutes or universities as required” (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.13, p.23). This recognition of the importance of fluency in te reo Maori in appropriate government positions sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to housing and boasted that:

“In order to encourage home ownership Labour will ensure that all mortgagors take out adequate mortgage repayment and other insurance;” (60)

In 1987, Labour said that it would “continue to ensure that all mortgagors [took] out adequate mortgage repayment and other insurance” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.66). This

suggests that it had been happening during their first term and the promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to employment and claimed that:

“Labour will assist with the establishment of programmes which arise from Maori initiatives and use Maori resources, and will encourage joint ventures between the people and government.” (61)

The 1986-7 “financial year saw the consolidation of many of the initiatives that were founded from the Hui Taumata (Maori Economic Development Conference) of October 1984. The primary initiatives were centred on consolidating the policies for the implementation of MANA enterprise development and preparing the ground work for the introduction of the Maori Access Training Programme. MANA was launched as a new programme and the testing ground of the Maori tribal capacity to take on responsibilities in the field was founded. The pathway had been laid earlier by the Maatua Whangai programme which saw the first step of the devolution process of Maori resources to tribal groups. By the end of the year, the Access Training Programme had been fashioned out by the hard work of the Board of Maori Affairs and the department, along with a substantial involvement of community people” (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 E.13, p.3). These initiatives indicate a proactive relationship between Maori and government to facilitate employment and see this plank coded as fulfilled.

The sixth pledge related to education and detailed that:

“As part of its primary emphasis on early childhood education Labour will extend the provision of the Four Minute Reading and Reading Recovery Programmes;” (61)

Between 1985-6, four minute reading and “reading recovery, the teaching procedure which reduces the incidence of reading failure among 6-year-old children, was extended to a further 200 schools. Reading recovery procedures [were then] provided in 838 New Zealand primary schools for about 10 percent of the 6-year-old population. The 10 additional tutors of teachers of reading recovery, trained at the University of Auckland in 1985 to assist in maintaining the programme, took up positions at reading recovery centres at the beginning of 1986” (AJHR 1986 Vol.5

E.1, pp.18-19). The extension of these programmes sees this promise coded as fulfilled.

The seventh and final Maori commitment related to the transition from school to employment and established that:

“Labour will ensure that all school-leavers who fail to find employment after leaving school have access to education and/or vocational training for a further year.” (61)

“New policy decisions and funding allocations in 1986 provided post-school vocational education opportunities for young people to enhance their knowledge, skills, and attitudes for employment and adult life. Some 31 foundation courses in a range of broad vocational clusters, approved in November, [were] intended to introduce young people with various social and educational disadvantages to a range of vocational opportunities. In the first term of 1987, some 550 young people enrolled in these full-time polytechnic courses of a half or full year” (AJHR 1987 Vol.5 E.1, p.33). This provision for further vocational education of up to a year after leaving school sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, six-sevenths of the first term’s Maori pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.24 Open Government

With 106 promises, open government was the second largest policy area equal with education. Eleven of these were assessed and the first two related to select committees. The first of these asserted that:

“Help will be provided to people to get their points of view across to Select Committees.” (63)

The Standing Orders Committee reported in 1985 with a number of recommendations including “in particular, [that] information should be available for witnesses on such matters as the procedure for making written and oral submissions, the formal powers and general practices of select committees in respect of taking evidence, and their terms of reference.” In order to facilitate this process and provide help to people to get

their points of view across to select committees, an information pamphlet was produced for this purpose (AJHR 1985 Vol.10 I.14, p.37). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other select committee plank boasted that:

“The Committees will be provided with adequate research staff, on secondment from the Public Service.” (63)

In response to other proposals made by the Standing Orders Committee in 1985 concerning the research staffing of select committees, a substantial upgrading of services to committees took place. Up to August 1985, the advisory service comprised two permanent advisory officers, augmented as required by temporary appointments. By 1986, “the advisory service ha[d] an establishment of up to the equivalent of 13 full-time positions within the Parliamentary Service. These positions [were] filled by means of additional permanent full-time staff, the secondment of officers from Government departments, and full-time and part-time fixed term appointments. These flexible arrangements proved very satisfactory in ensuring an appropriate level of independent professional assistance to meet the committees’ individual needs” (AJHR 1986 Vol.1 A.2, p.5). The adequacy of the new research staffing provisions utilising seconded public servants among others sees this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The third promise related to government administration and claimed that:

“Labour will strengthen and expand the role of the Public Expenditure Committee in order to ensure that the financial accountability of Government to Parliament is adequate.” (63)

The Standing Orders Committee recognised “the importance of [new] developments in the work of the Public Expenditure Committee in reviewing systems of financial management throughout the government sector, in which it ha[d] a distinct role” (AJHR 1985 Vol.10 I.14, p.33). According to Geoffrey Palmer (Leader of the House), the “standing orders were changed in 1986 to effect this” which improved the adequacy of the Government’s level of financial accountability to Parliament (pers. com. 30/1/08). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to the legislative department and detailed that:

“Labour will ensure that a register of the pecuniary interests of Members of Parliament is established and updated annually.” (64)

“The Leader of the House presented a detailed set of proposals to the Committee for the creation of a register in which the financial interests of members of Parliament would be recorded and made available for public inspection. In the light of the fact that there was not unanimity among the Committee members to the scheme being incorporated in the Standing Orders, the Leader of the House subsequently indicated to the Committee that he would not seek to proceed with it by way of amendment to the Standing Orders” (AJHR 1986 Vol.11 I.18A, p.13). Palmer confirmed this in his statement; “We tried, but it wasn’t accomplished in term due to strong opposition” (pers. com. 30/1/08). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to a proposed Bill of Rights for New Zealand and established that:

“It will provide an authoritative source of education about the importance of fundamental freedoms in a democratic society;” (64)

While the Bill itself was not enacted until 1990, even the proposal had a ‘touchstone’ effect. “The educative effect of a bill of rights [was] cited in a number of submissions supporting the proposal as a very significant reason for the adoption of a bill of rights. These submissions submit[ted] that by providing a statement of fundamental rights and freedoms a bill of rights would educate and raise awareness amongst New Zealanders about human rights” (AJHR 1986 Vol.10 I.8A, p.15). Therefore, from the time the Bill was introduced, it became an authoritative source of education about the importance of fundamental freedoms in a democratic society. This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The sixth commitment related to civil liberties and asserted that:

“The law relating to freedom of expression will be overhauled.” (64)

Section 14 of the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act did this, but not until 1990 (NZS 1990 Vol.3, p.1690). In addition, Palmer admitted that they were responsible for changes made to defamation law, but they were not effected until they left office (pers. com. 30/1/08). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The seventh pledge related to the rule of law and boasted that:

“Labour will not introduce retrospective legislation unless, in the circumstances of the case, justice requires it.” (65)

A scan of legislation passed during the FLG’s first term indicates that retrospective criminalisation was avoided while retrospective decriminalisation was occasionally employed. An example of this can be seen in “the Homosexual Law Reform Act 1986, which retrospectively decriminalised certain types of conduct” (Burrows 2003, p.403). The Criminal Justice Act 1985 also ensured that changes to punishments for crimes made in between the committal thereof and sentencing would result in the most lenient of the two options being applied (ibid, p.410). Justice required this kind of retrospection and it was employed seeing the promise coded as fulfilled.

The eighth commitment related to regulations and red tape and claimed that:

“All Qangos will be reviewed to see if they serve useful purposes.” (65)

According to Palmer, during their first term, the FLG “cut out 60 Qangos” (pers. com. 30/1/08). This was reinforced by the NZLP 1987 PD which reported that the Government was continuing to review “all quangos and those serving no useful purpose [we]re being abolished” (p.68). This review and its results see the plank coded as fulfilled.

The ninth pledge related to freedom of information and detailed that:

“Labour will undertake a comprehensive review of the Official Information Act immediately upon taking office with a view to narrowing the range of exceptions to the principle of disclosure contained in the Act;” (66)

The Official Information Amendment Act 1987 repealed the special reasons for withholding official information related to competitive commercial activities contained in the 1982 Act (NZS 1987 Vol.1, p.54). This effectively narrowed the range of exceptions to the principle of disclosure contained in the Act and sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The tenth commitment related to law making and established that:

“Labour will develop systematic digests and indexes so that laws will become easier to locate.” (66)

This is repeated almost verbatim in the NZLP 1987 PD suggesting that it did not happen during the FLG’s first term (p.70). Palmer confirms that “the Law Commission is still trying to accomplish this and work is being undertaken on it now” (pers. com. 30/1/08). The plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The eleventh and final open government pledge related to electoral law and with reference to whether state funding of political parties should be introduced, asserted that:

“The next Labour Government will establish a Royal Commission of three persons to inquire into and report upon any other questions relating to the electoral system which the Royal Commission may see fit to discuss.” (66)

On the 18th of February 1985 a Royal Commission on the Electoral System was commissioned “to receive representations upon, inquire into, investigate, and report upon” eight specific electoral law matters and “any other question relating to the electoral system which [the Commission saw] fit to inquire into, investigate, and report upon” (AJHR 1986 Vol.9 H.3, pp.xiii-xiv). This commission sees the promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, eight-elevenths of the first term’s open government commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.25 Pacific Island

With 27 planks, the Pacific Island policy was a smaller area and only two of these were assessed. The first related to education and boasted that:

“Labour will encourage student exchanges with South Pacific Schools.” (67)

No mention is made of student exchanges with South Pacific Schools in departmental reports, Hansard or the NZLP 1987 PD. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The other Pacific Island promise related to culture and claimed that:

“Labour will promote the development of the Pacific Island performing arts and cultural activities throughout New Zealand.” (68)

“In 1984 the [Queen Elizabeth the Second Arts Council of New Zealand] supported a record level of traditional Pacific Island arts projects. Many of these involved the purchase of traditional costumes, materials and musical instruments for Pacific Island cultural groups. Substantial grants were approved to the national Cook Island Composers Uapou held in Auckland and the Pacific Island Festival in Christchurch which drew participants from throughout the South Island” (AJHR 1985 Vol.8 G.11, p.5). This level of promotion throughout New Zealand sees the commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, 50% of the first term’s Pacific Island planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.26 Police and Crime Prevention

With 31 pledges, police and crime prevention was another below average-sized policy area three of these were assessed. The first related to a solution to the problem of crime and detailed that:

“Labour will provide sufficient funds for the Police to educate the public to play a wider role in helping the Police.” (69)

The New Zealand Police increased their expenditure on educating the public to help them from less than \$6m in 1986 to almost \$8m a year later and while this did not represent the full amount voted for Police public affairs, it was a significant increase in this area. This was part of a major drive to promote public awareness of law and order and the role of the Police in the community (AJHR 1986 Vol.7 G.6, p.21 & 1987 Vol.7 G.6, p.20). These additional funds for public education see the promise coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related specifically to the Police and established that:

“Labour will establish a three-year programme of staffing.” (69)

Such a programme gets no mention in the 1984-7 New Zealand Police reports, Hansard or the NZLP 1987 PD. This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third and final police and crime prevention pledge related to a proposed Examiner of Police Practices and asserted that:

“The Examiner of Police Practices will have power to make public statements about investigations into complaints.” (70)

Labour introduced the Police Complaints Authority Act 1988 during their second term which provided regulation around issues of both secrecy and publication about investigations into complaints (NZS 1988 Vol.1, p.6). The independent Police Complaints Authority, which the Act established, was the closest Labour got to an Examiner of Police Practices, but it was reactive rather than proactive in the way it was envisaged the Examiner would be. Therefore, this promise is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the first term’s police and crime prevention commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.27 Post Office

With just 6 planks, the Post Office was the smallest policy area in the 1984 PDNZLP and only one of these was assessed. It boasted that:

“The New Zealand Post Office will meet the communications and commercial needs of New Zealand by utilising, effectively and economically, a large public investment in the areas of telecommunication, postal, banking, agency and electoral services.” (71)

“The decision was taken in 1985 to corporatise the NZ Post Office into 3 state owned enterprises covering the areas mentioned. This was achieved by 1st April 1987 and the bodies concerned operated from then on – although the Bank and Telecom were eventually privatised” (Hunt 29/1/08; see also AJHR 1987 Vol.9 F.1, p.2). From this point on, the New Zealand Post Office no longer met the communications and commercial needs of New Zealand as the policy stated it would. The first term’s only Post Office pledge assessed is coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate.

6.1.28 Recreation and Sport

With 30 promises, recreation and sport was also a below average-sized policy area and three of these were assessed. The first claimed that:

“Maximum encouragement will be given to schools to make their facilities, such as halls and gymnasiums, available to recreational groups within their area.” (72)

In 1987 Labour promised to continue to make school “facilities available to recreational groups within their areas” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.77). For this to continue during Labour’s second term, it must have been happening during their first. This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The other two planks related to outdoor recreation and with reference to access, the first of these detailed that:

“While recognising the need for protection for property, Labour will review the Trespass Act and any other legislation which tilts the balance too far in favour of the landowner at the expense of the recreational user.” (72)

Labour did amend the Trespass Act 1980, but this only served to expand its application to public bars (NZS 1987 Vol.4, p.2258). According to Mike Moore (Minister of Recreation and Sport), this was “not much of an issue” (pers. com. 30/1/08). In the context of the plank’s reference to increasing recreational user access to/through private land, Labour failed to deliver an effective review to this end. The pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The other outdoor recreation and the final recreation and sport promise established that:

“Labour will ensure proper controls on helicopter activities, and to give more teeth to the Recreational Hunting Advisory Committee and provide for more democratic representation on that committee by sporting groups themselves.” (73)

Moore stated that he had “no idea” why this featured in the 1984 PD (pers. com. 30/1/08). Proper controls on helicopter activities in wilderness areas were enacted under the administration of the subsequent National Government as an amendment to the Conservation Act in 1994 (NZS Vol.1 1994, p.272). Labour’s inaction on this commitment sees it coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the first term’s recreation and sport planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.29 Regional Development

With 53 pledges, regional development was a larger policy area and five of these were assessed. The first related to a proposed new regional structure and asserted that:

“The criteria used to classify the regions will include unemployment level in relation to the workforce;” (74)

A major shift of emphasis in the regional development programme was implemented during 1986-7, but this moved the regional classification system towards a resource-based development opportunity focus without reference to unemployment levels (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 G.14, pp.20-1). As a result, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second commitment also related to regional employment and boasted that:

“Labour will establish Regional Employment Priority Areas, with the amount of assistance available directly related to the seriousness of the local unemployment problem.” (74)

According to Kerry Burke (Minister of Regional Development), “no special arrangements [were] made for these areas. The targeting of employment assistance [shifted towards] individuals and groups who [were] disadvantaged within the labour market” rather than using established regional employment priority areas (NZPD Vol.469 1986, p.762). This plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to regional development bonds and claimed that:

“Regional Development Bonds guaranteed by the Government will be introduced to encourage regions to help themselves.” (75)

There is no mention in departmental reports (1984-7), Hansard (1984-7) or NZLP 1987 PD of these bonds having been introduced. This promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to major projects and detailed that:

“Assistance for major projects in regional development areas will be assessed on the merits of each case, taking into account regional priorities, employment opportunities and export-growth potential.” (75)

Priorities within regions for improving economic conditions, providing employment opportunities and export-growth potential appear to have all been used as case assessment criteria for assistance. This resulted in 725 projects being assisted in the 1984-6 period totalling \$12.58 million for manufacturing, advanced processing, tourism and horticultural projects (NZLP 1987 PD, p.80). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final regional development commitment related to the South Island and with reference to a proposed South Island office in the Government, established that:

“It will be responsible for co-ordinating government policies for the South Island.” (76)

According to Burke, by mid-1986 it was no longer “planned to establish a separate South Island office” (NZPD Vol.472 1986, p.2945). The abandonment of this proposal sees the plank coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only 20% of the first term’s regional development pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.30 Science and Research

With 14 promises, science and research was a smaller policy area and two of these were assessed. The first related to funding and asserted that:

“Resources will be made available for both basic and applied research.” (77)

With reference to applied research, the DSIR stated in early 1987 that “the work in this area would be unable to function at a healthy level without a significant input of Government funds” (AJHR 1987 Vol.8 G.21, p.43). Bob Tizard (Minister of Science and Technology) asserts that “the DSIR argued that they needed to be funded for basic research, but no real progress was made notwithstanding the recommendations of the Beattie Committee and the focus was on applied research that provided immediate returns” (pers. com. 22/1/08). The insufficiency of resourcing for both basic and applied research suggested by this evidence sees the commitment coded as unfulfilled.

The other science and research plank related to technology and boasted that:

“Labour will establish a new technology monitoring unit to obtain and analyse information on new technology developments and their social impact in New Zealand and overseas.” (77)

Departmental reports from 1984-7, Hansard from the period and NZLP 1987 PD make no mention of this proposed technology monitoring unit. Tizard uses a comparison with the TLG to explain the reason this proposal was not implemented along with other shelved aspects of the 1984 science policy. Referring to this, he writes that “the 1984 position was dramatically different and the Parliamentary Party was not united under Lange’s leadership as it had been with Kirk in 1972.” He suggests that this made it difficult to fulfil aspects of the programme that were not considered essential (letter dated 11/2/08). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled. As neither of the science and research promises assessed were fulfilled, this represents a 0% fulfilment rate.

6.1.31 Social Services

With 44 commitments, social services was just below average in terms of policy size and four of these were assessed. The first related to strengthening support services for families and referring to a belief in accessibility to established state and voluntary support services, claimed that:

“Labour will therefore ensure that other community assistance and support to families (such as quality child care for emergencies, home aid services, budget advice, etc.) is as widely available as possible.” (78)

Departmental reports from 1984-7, Hansard from the period and NZLP 1987 PD make no mention of emergency child care. While it is assumed that this existed, the lack of any reference to it suggests that the availability of this was not widened during the 1984-7 period and the plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge related to efficient resource use and delivery and with reference to co-ordinating this, detailed that:

“Labour will therefore ensure that within the Department of Social Welfare, proper emphasis is given to staff support, research and planning techniques;” (79)

“The 1985/86 year [was] a particularly traumatic one for the [Social Welfare] department’s staff, with a very high turnover and the intake of large numbers of untrained staff taking its toll on the effectiveness of district operations. The effects of this, coupled with a steadily increasing workload and the stresses of dealing with a demanding clientele, led to unprecedented widespread industrial action” (AJHR 1986 Vol.5 E.12, pp.13-14). These negative staff outcomes indicate that a lack of emphasis was given to staff support during this period and this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The third commitment related to income support and established that:

“The Labour Government will set up an urgent and comprehensive review of all Social Security benefits to be undertaken by a Royal Commission of Inquiry, which shall be directed to travel widely throughout New Zealand, to allow maximum participation by all those interested or concerned.” (79)

The FLG established a Royal Commission on Social Policy during its first term which included the social services area and considered income support reform with wide community consultation as a feature of its work (NZLP 1987 PD, p.87). The participatory process associated with this Commission sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final social services pledge related to war pensions and asserted that:

“All former servicemen and women who have served overseas as a member of the New Zealand Forces or in any war, emergency, or similar service will be eligible as of right for a War Service Pension as an alternative to National Superannuation when they reach the age of 60.” (80)

As of 1987, “the war service pension [could] be granted to ex-servicemen who served overseas as a member of the New Zealand forces in the Second World War, or in any subsequent war or emergency and who [was] not in receipt of a war disablement pension, and ha[d] not attained the age of 65 years, but [was] medically unfit for permanent employment” (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 E.12, p.55). This meant that ex-servicemen who were between 60 and 65 and able to work were not eligible for the pension contrary to that which was pledged. The promise is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only 25% of the first term’s social services commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.32 Small Business

With 26 planks, small business was another below average-sized policy area and three of these were assessed. The first two related to Labour’s plan for small business growth and support and the first of these boasted that:

“Small business will be encouraged to participate in or establish joint research and development departments.” (81)

Departmental reports from 1984-7, Hansard from the period and NZLP 1987 PD make no mention of any special encouragement for small businesses to participate in joint research and development departments. While the sentiment may have been extant, without any clear initiative to encourage this to occur, the pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The other promise relating to Labour’s small business plan claimed that:

“Labour will give smaller companies fair opportunity to tender for government contracts.” (81)

This appears to have happened, as there is substantial evidence of a fair spread of Government contract opportunities during the period. For example, two-thirds of New Zealand Forest Service works and building contracts of \$20,000 or more in value were tendered to smaller companies during 1985 (NZG 1985 Vol.6 p.5497). This commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final small business plank related to management assistance and detailed that:

“Labour will conduct "red tape" audits to ensure small and medium businesses are not weighed down by unnecessary or time consuming procedures or delays.” (82)

By the 1987 General Election, Labour had only just “begun the investigation of ‘red tape’” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.68). The number of planks relating to this tripled between 1984-7 suggesting that the bulk of this work was still to be undertaken during the FLG’s second term. As a result, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the first term’s small business promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.33 State Services

With 17 commitments, state services was another smaller policy area and only one of these was assessed. It related to industrial relations, wages and conditions of employment and established that:

“All repressive and provocative industrial penalties and provisions will be repealed, including Part VIIA of the State Services Conditions of Employment Act.” (83)

The State Services Conditions of Employment Amendment (No. 2) Act 1985 repealed the repressive and provocative industrial penalties contained in Part VIIA of the

principal Act (NZS 1985 Vol.3, p.1305). The repeal of penalties in the old Act sees this plank coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.1.34 Tourism and Visitor

With 50 pledges, tourism and visitor policy was a more substantial area and five of these were assessed. The first related to Labour's overall plan for tourism and asserted that:

"Labour will develop a global marketing strategy that links tourism with trade." (85)

By the end of the first quarter of 1987, the New Zealand Market Development Board was only beginning to address "the concept of a global marketing strategy" (AJHR 1987 Vol.8 G.40, pp.2-3). Mike Moore (Minister of Tourism) has confirmed that the "first term was spent putting the Board together" (pers. com. 30/1/08). This means that the strategy was not developed by the time Labour embarked on its second term and the promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The second commitment related to tourist promotion and boasted that:

"Producer boards will be encouraged to participate in this global marketing strategy through, for example, the sponsorship of New Zealand sporting teams and individuals." (85)

Without the development of a global marketing strategy within its first term (op. cit.), no organisations could have been encouraged to participate in it. The plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to transport and claimed that:

"Airport authorities will be required to ensure that international air terminal facilities achieve improved passenger clearance times." (85)

"Measures undertaken during [1984-5] which assisted the facilitation of passengers through New Zealand's international airports included raising the levels of duty free

allowances and a revision by the Customs Department of its operating procedures to increase the passenger flow rate through the airport terminals. To minimise delays, baggage handling trials were carried out at Auckland International Airport” (AJHR 1985 Vol.7 F.5, pp.12-13). These efforts to improve passenger clearance times see the promise coded as fulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to tourism in the regions and detailed that:

“Tourist projects in regional development areas will qualify for regional development assistance.” (86)

Regional development assistance was made available “in the period under review [through] suspensory and concessional loans to a total value of \$5.83 million” for manufacturing, processing, horticultural and tourism projects in regional development areas (AJHR 1985 Vol.9 G.14, pp.18-19). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final tourism and visitor pledge related to New Zealand foods and established that:

“Labour will promote the use of New Zealand foods through industry training programmes and publicity.” (86)

According to Moore, “trade missions used New Zealand foods and chefs and the Trade Development Board did publicise and promote NZ food, but educators ultimately chose for themselves whether to use it or not” (pers. com. 30/1/08). This promotion and publicity of New Zealand foods internationally and to industry trainers sees the promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, 60% of the first term’s tourism and visitor commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.35 Trade and Marketing

With 48 planks, trade and marketing was another above average-sized policy area and once again five of these were assessed. The first related to providing a solution to the problem of co-ordinating the diverse ways in which New Zealand and its products were sold overseas and asserted that:

“Labour will establish a global marketing strategy which will cover the long-term needs of both the consumer and the market place.” (88)

As the assessment of the first two tourism and visitor planks notes, this strategy was not established during the FLG’s first term. The pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The second promise related to international marketing personnel and boasted that:

“Labour will ensure that new and existing overseas trade posts are staffed by experienced marketing people, some of whom will be drawn from the private sector.” (88)

By 31 March 1986, the Trade Commissioner Service was employing a range of staff, many of whom were seconded from other government departments because of marketing expertise and locally appointed Marketing Officers from the private sector were appointed in foreign trade offices (AJHR 1986 Vol.7 G.14, p.34). These staffing outcomes see the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to adding value to New Zealand products and claimed that:

“Labour will develop, in consultation with the private sector, industry plans for export sectors such as horticulture, forestry and fishing.” (89)

By April 1987, six “industry plans [had been] completed: Electric Motors, Electronics, Footwear, Plastics, Tyres and Margarine” (AJHR 1987 Vol.7 G.14, p.13). Horticulture, forestry and fishing did not feature at all. This may be because as Mike Moore (Minister of Overseas Trade and Marketing) recalls; “Some primary sectors told us to bugger off as producer boards largely had their own plans” (pers. com. 30/1/08). The omission of these major industry plans from those completed sees the pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth promise related to labour market policy and with reference to proposed scholarships to enable Maori and Pacific Islanders to obtain marketing qualifications, detailed that:

“They will be called “Kupe Scholarships”. ” (89)

In 1986, “consistent with the Government’s Trade and Marketing policies the department [of Trade and Industry] recruited three Kupe Scholars as did the Department of Tourist and Publicity. The purpose of the scholarships [wa]s to encourage more Maori and Pacific Islanders to represent New Zealand in our trade and travel posts overseas. On completion of their degrees, the scholars join[ed] the department on a full-time basis” (AJHR 1986 Vol.7 G.14, p.9). The recruitment of Kupe Scholars sees this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final trade and marketing plank related to Labour’s investment strategy and established that:

“Industries with growth potential - tourism, primary product processing, horticulture processing and marketing - will be prime candidates for assistance.” (89)

In 1985, the DFC reported; “recently, the potential of the tourism sector as an earner of foreign exchange has become better recognised and, with nearly \$200 million in investment approvals, DFC is an important source of finance for this sector. Exports of indigenous New Zealand products – especially from the horticultural and other food industries – have demonstrated the strongest export growth in the last 10 years, and these are also important and growing areas for DFC investment. At the same time, the export of manufactured and processed goods based on adding value to New Zealand’s resources is receiving increasing attention and assistance, and is becoming an ever larger proportion of total manufactured exports” (AJHR 1985 Vol.3 B.26, p.10). This growth in DFC investment to tourism, primary product and horticulture processing and marketing industries sees the pledge coded as fulfilled. Overall, 60% of the first term’s trade and marketing promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.36 Transport

With 75 commitments, transport was a significant policy area and eight of these were assessed. The first related to the co-ordination of transport and with reference to the proposed abolition of the Transport Advisory Council, asserted that:

“Its replacement, the New Zealand Transport Council, will be charged with co-ordinating the use of transport modes most effectively in the interests of regional and the nation's development.” (91)

On 10 April 1986, Richard Prebble (Minister of Transport) indicated why this idea was shelved; “The Transport Advisory Council is so unpopular that the Government is reviewing whether there is any need for such a council in any form. Two previous Transport Ministers have advised me that in their view the Transport Advisory Council is just a talking shop and wastes a lot of valuable people’s time and taxpayers’ money – a view that the transport industry agrees with” (NZPD Vol.470 1986, p.933). This problem was supposed to have been overcome by the proposed replacement council, but it appears to have been lost in the drive to deregulate and peel back government involvement in many sectors. The plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge related to the rail freight services and boasted that:

“Labour endorses the concept of re-organising freight acceptance and delivery points into strategically located freight centres so that Railways will be better placed to increase service frequencies, improve wagon utilisation and hold rates.” (92)

By 1987, “freight terminal consolidation [was] essentially completed with major savings in equipment and staff coupled with improvements in service” (AJHR 1987 Vol.6 F.7, p.9). This freight centre reorganisation and the resultant service improvements see this promise coded as fulfilled.

The third commitment related to rail passenger services and with reference to the creation of a proposed separate Railways Passenger Division, claimed that:

“The new Passenger Division will bring greater co-ordination and efficiency to Railways passenger services.” (92)

In 1987, Railways reported “a developing and positive relationship between [regional] authorities and Passenger Group management, and some productive joint exercises which resulted in the redesign of urban bus services in a number of centres to produce more cost effective operations” (AJHR 1987 Vol.6 F.7, p.14). This evidence that the creation of the Passenger Division/Group brought greater co-ordination (joint

exercises) and efficiency (cost effectiveness) to Railways passenger services sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The fourth pledge related to road transport and detailed that:

“The Labour Government will review the effects of the National Government's licensing changes in road transport to ensure, firstly, that there is no lowering of safety standards, secondly that there is no undermining of conditions of work in the industry, and thirdly that the regions continue to receive a good road service.” (93)

In 1985, the Ministry of Transport's review found that “the transition from quantitative to qualitative licensing in the land and aviation modes, which resulted from legislative changes in late 1983, presented some problems for the industry but in general proceeded smoothly. The more relaxed licensing environment attracted new entrants.” It also noted, “the downward trend in terms of fatalities per 10,000 register[ed] vehicles continued” (AJHR 1985 Vol.7 F.5, p.3). It appears that no changes were necessary, as the three goals of the review, as outlined in the pledge, seem to have been met. This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth commitment related to shipping and maritime policy and established that:

“The next Labour Government will give positive support to the full participation of Shipping Corporation and/or New Zealand owned shipping companies' representatives in freight rate negotiations where appropriate.” (94)

The FLG passed the Shipping Act 1987 which gave the Minister of Transport statutory “powers to initiate investigations and issue directions” relative to “unfair practices” including “any unreasonable refusal or failure on the part of a carrier to enter into negotiations or consultations requested by any New Zealand shipper relating to the terms and conditions upon which the carrier carries goods” (NZS Vol.4 1987, pp.2553-4). This legislative support for New Zealand shippers' right to negotiate the terms and conditions of freight carriage sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The sixth pledge related to airports and asserted that:

“Labour will investigate re-organising Air New Zealand into a Public Corporation to operate under its own Act of Parliament with specific provision being included for the audit of Air New Zealand accounts by the Auditor-General;” (94)

The State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 did list Air New Zealand as a Public Corporation to be audited by the Audit Office, but it did not get its own Act of Parliament as pledged (NZS Vol.3 1986, p.1315). Therefore, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The seventh commitment related to the taxi industry and boasted that:

“The next Labour Government will consult with the taxi industry to encourage conversion to LPG and/or CNG by existing taxi fleets;” (95)

These consultations resulted in maintenance of a programme of financial incentives to persuade vehicle fleet operators such as taxi companies to convert to CNG or LPG and to encourage the development of a widespread network of CNG and LPG refuelling stations (AJHR 1986 Vol.4 D.6, p.26). This encouragement sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The eighth and final transport pledge related to road safety and claimed that:

“As a matter of priority, Labour will increase the numbers of traffic officers deployed during 'at risk' periods, and in high accident rate areas.” (95)

On 9 April 1987, in response to a question about increased work for traffic officers outside regular working hours, Prebble confirmed that “special alcohol-related programmes generally involve[d at risk] night-time hours, and recalls and extended hours of duty [were] necessary where additional officers [were] required to assist in those campaigns. Because of the number of accidents involving alcohol it [was] expected that the trend toward more pro-active enforcement campaigns at night [would] continue”. High accident rate areas were also a target for these campaigns (NZPD Vol.479 1987, p.8472). This increase in traffic officers at risk periods and in risk areas sees the promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the first term’s transport commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.37 Women's Policy

With 80 planks, women's policy was another substantial policy area and once again eight of these were assessed. The first two related to training and employment and with reference to women's right to retraining and career opportunities, the first of these detailed that:

"Labour will therefore promote more job sharing, flexible working hours, and part-time work opportunities, in both the public and private sectors;" (96)

The National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women confirmed that in 1986-7 "in an increasingly difficult economic climate, the development of positive action programmes was encouraged and differing employment patterns were fostered to promote more equitable job and parental responsibility sharing" (Hansen 1987, p.11). This promotion of job sharing and work flexibility sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The other training and employment promise made reference to introducing protective legislation concerned with new technology developments such as the use of workplace computer terminals in homes and established that:

"These controls, combined with the increased provision of child care centres, will ensure that the acceptance of home work by a person has been made from real choice, and that she will be free from exploitation by her employer;" (97)

By the 1987 General Election, Labour were still promising to introduce legislative controls to ensure that women working from home were not exploited by employers through the use of workplace technology in private dwellings, but as of that date, they had not been enacted nor implemented (NZLP 1987 PD, p.98). Therefore, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The third plank related to education and asserted that:

"In order to ensure educational equality of opportunity for women of all ages and the full development of human potential on a non-sexist basis, Labour will ensure information is widely available on changing roles, life options and job opportunities for both women and men;" (97)

Neither the Ministry of Education or Women's Affairs reports, Hansard, the NZLP 1987 PD nor the University of Canterbury Education Library contain any material on information generated between 1984-7 on changing roles, life options and job opportunities for both women and men to be used in the education system or as more widely published material. In addition, the NZLP 1987 PD contains an almost identical plank. If any of this kind of information was produced during the FLG's first term, it seems not to have been made widely available as envisioned, seeing this pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The next two promises related to health and the first of these boasted that:

"Labour will review the grounds for abortion and the certifying consultants system." (98)

In 1986, the Abortion Supervisory Committee (ASC) concluded thus; "This Committee believes that any attempt to define more specifically the legal grounds on which an abortion may be performed would serve no useful purpose" (AJHR 1986 Vol.6 E.28, p.5). The reluctance of the ASC to redefine/review the legal grounds for abortion sees this commitment coded as unfulfilled.

The other health plank claimed that:

"Multi-lingual material on health consumers-rights will be publicly available." (98)

Neither the Ministry of Health or Women's Affairs reports, Hansard, the NZLP 1987 PD nor the Te Puna Library Database contain any evidence of multi-lingual material on health consumers-rights generated between 1984-7. If any of this kind of information was produced during the FLG's first term, it seems not to have been made publicly available as envisioned, seeing this pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The final three women's promises related to a proposed Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA) and the first of these detailed that:

"Labour will create a Ministry of Women's Affairs." (99)

“The Labour Government appointed the first Minister of Women’s Affairs and established a new Ministry (opened 6 May 1986) in recognition that the status and value of the work of women – in the home, in the community, and in the paid workforce – is central to the Government’s programme of equality for women” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.97). The creation/establishment of this Ministry sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second MWA plank established that:

“The Human Rights Commission Act 1977 will be reviewed to include prohibition of discrimination in employment on the grounds of family responsibility and an examination of the effectiveness of the current administration of the Act.” (99)

No amendments to the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 relating to prohibition of discrimination on any grounds exist between 1984-7 (NZS 1984-7). This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The third and final MWA and eighth and final women’s promise asserted that:

“Provision will be made to encourage Courts when imposing sentences to consider where appropriate Community Service or Periodic Detention as alternatives to sentencing women to prison.” (99)

By 1987, there were 190 more women serving periodic detention or community service sentences than in 1984 while the number of women in prison had increased by only six (AJHR 1987 Vol.6 E.5, p.61). This suggests a significant shift away from imprisonment for women towards the community and periodic sentencing alternatives and sees the commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, only three-eighths of the first term’s women’s planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.38 Works

With 36 pledges, works was a smaller policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to administration and boasted that:

“Labour will reappraise and reactivate needed works programmes which have been deferred;” (100)

While they may not necessarily have resulted in completion, Labour reappraised a number of these programmes. For example, in 1983, investigations into the Lower Waitaki development were deferred beyond the planning horizon. However, during Labour’s first term these were reviewed and rescheduled with the relative costs of five development options being presented to and discussed with the client by 1987 (AJHR 1984 Vol.4 D.1, p.55 & 1987 Vol.4 D.1, p.49). This reactivation of shelved programmes sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to roading and claimed that:

“Labour will ensure that more of the revenue contributed by motorists and the road transport industry is allocated to the National Roads Board for roading and bridge maintenance.” (101)

“Labour adjusted fuel taxes and road user charges in the 1984 budget so that road users met fully the costs of maintaining and improving the roading system” (NZLP 1987 PD, p.103). This shift in funding solely from motorists to the maintenance of the roading system sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The third and final works pledge related to irrigation and detailed that:

“Where the benefits are clearly indicated, Labour will allocate resources for the purpose of increasing production, export earnings, and employment.” (101)

By 1987, “new irrigation schemes remain[ed] eligible for the 35% Government grant” (AJHR 1987 Vol.4 D.2, p.3). This continued financial support for production-increasing irrigation projects sees the promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the first term’s works commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.1.39 Youth

With 40 planks, youth was another below average-sized policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to a proposed Ministry of Youth Affairs and established that:

“In considering programmes for young people the Minister of Youth will work closely with a more widely representative consultative committee on youth affairs and the National Youth Council.” (102)

In 1987, there was no mention in the Hansard Ministry List of a Minister of Youth (NZPD Vol.482 1987, p.10064). This appointment does not appear to have been made until the FLG’s second term when Phil Goff became Minister of Youth Affairs following the 1987 election (Wood 1996, p.95). The absence of a Minister of Youth Affairs during the first term sees the pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The second promise related to young people in school and asserted that:

“Labour will remove the present barriers to the implementation of the Human Development and Relations section of the Johnson Report.” (102)

“With the change of government the policy towards human development and relationships also changed in a way more consistent with the [Johnson Report]. Subsequently the Department [of Education] made amendments to the syllabus. The sentence ‘There is no place in the primary school for group or class instruction in sex education’ [was] replaced” (New Zealand School Committees’ Federation Inc 1984, p.1). The removal of this barrier to the full implementation of the Human Development and Relations section of the Johnson report sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to young people and the transition from school into working life and boasted that:

“Labour will introduce a system of trade training which encompasses a levy system to finance trade training.” (102)

The trade training system is explained in some detail in the Labour departmental reports from 1984-7. However, this includes no reference to any levy system associated with it. The pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final youth and 1984 PDNZLP promise related to young people at risk and claimed that:

“Labour will develop a vigorous educational programme aimed at making young people aware of the advantages of physical fitness and health, and the dangers of abuse of tobacco, alcohol and drugs.” (103)

According to the Syllabus for Schools outlined in 1985, “knowing the value of physical activity and recreational interests” including “maintaining physical fitness through appropriate exercise” was to be taught to Forms 1-2. “Hazards to health” including “alcohol [and] tobacco” was to be taught to Forms 3-4 and “learning to meet continuing health needs” including “maintaining personal health” and “drugs and health” were to be taught to Forms 5-7 (Ministry of Education 1985, pp.17&19). The development of these educational programmes to increase awareness amongst youth of the issues as promised see the commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, 50% of the first term’s youth planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.1.40 First Term Summary

There were 39 sections in Labour’s 1984 Policy Document and all of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. Even the smallest policy area (Post Office with only six pledges) formed part of the assessment. Economic, education and open government policy were the biggest policy areas with over a hundred commitments each.

Out of a total sample of 178 planks, Labour fulfilled 110. This represents a fulfilment rate of 62%. This is by far the lowest achievement rate for any of the terms between 1972-87. While it is true that Labour had to deal with implementing policy using bureaucrats who had operated for three terms under National, it is also fair to say that much of what the FLG did was not presupposed by their policy documents and this impacted on their ability to fulfil what was there. In 1984, Labour promised New Zealand some breathing space from the control of the Muldoon era and perhaps

provided more space than many were comfortable with, but in 1987, Labour's vote share increased by five percent to almost 50% suggesting that New Zealanders largely endorsed the transformation process and were willing to continue to support it. In addition, it encouraged Roger Douglas and his cabinet colleagues in continuing to follow a philosophy, based around the ideal as Douglas put it, to; "do the right thing no matter what the political consequences" (2004, A11). The next section of this chapter will indicate to what extent Labour did 'do the right thing' in relation to the promises it made in its 1987 Policy Document.

6.2 SECOND TERM: 1987-90

The NZLP 1987 PD contained in total, 1137 pledges on 107 pages representing an average of almost eleven promises per page. This indicates a pledge density considerably lower than that of the 1984 Policy Document and half that of the previous National Governments second manifesto. It reflects the fact that much of the information contained in 1987 related to the achievements of the first term rather than promises relative to the second.

6.2.1 Agriculture

With 19 commitments, agriculture was not a significant policy area and two of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

"After completion of the present transition phase in agriculture, New Zealand will have won back its position as the world's most efficient producer of high quality foods and natural fibres." (2)

In February 1988, the Chief Executive of the Dairy Board (Murray Gough) was reported by Roger Douglas (Minister of Finance) to have said in the Financial Review that "we are still the most efficient producer of dairy products at one-third of the cost" (NZPD Vol.486 1988, p.2235). A 10 percent reduction in European farm output and an elimination of US surpluses during this time coupled with the abolition of SMP's meant that New Zealand's main primary products were efficiently produced by

comparison and we were internationally competitive as the commitment suggested we would be. This plank is therefore coded as fulfilled.

The other agriculture pledge related to the processing of farm products and with reference to efficiency in all inspection services, boasted that:

“To this end, industry will be required to take greater responsibility for quality control and hygiene standards with overall surveillance by MAF.” (3)

According to Jim Sutton (Minister of Agriculture), by 1990, “the ministry ha[d] quality management inspection and audit procedures in place to ensure that all produce leaving New Zealand ha[d] been subjected to the appropriate quality checks to ensure that it met the relevant food hygiene standards both for New Zealand consumers and for overseas governments and/or clients” (NZPD Vol.508 1990, p.2342). This overall surveillance by MAF of industry policed quality control and hygiene standards sees the promise coded as fulfilled. As both of the second term’s agriculture commitments assessed were fulfilled, this represents a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.2 Arts and Crafts, Culture and Heritage

With 29 planks, arts and crafts, culture and heritage was larger than agriculture, but still a less significant policy area with three of these assessed. The first referred to a proposed Ministry of Arts and Culture (MAC) that would take the arts out of the Department of Internal Affairs (DIA) and claimed that:

“The Ministry of Arts and Culture will have responsibility for the performing and visual arts, film, the National and Film Archives, the National Film Unit, the Film Commission, museums and archival material, the Author's Fund, the Arts Council, New Zealand Ballet, and New Zealand Opera, and other relevant organisations.” (4)

According to Michael Bassett (Minister of Arts and Culture), “the MAC didn’t go ahead. [Bassett] circulated a discussion document in 1988-89 and got widespread agreement on several matters before leaving cabinet. A Ministry of Cultural Affairs

grew out of a separate Arts Branch within the DIA and then into today's stand-alone Ministry of Culture and Heritage with most of those functions mentioned under its aegis. In other words, the process began but wasn't finished by the Fourth LG" (pers. com. 29/1/08). "The Ministry of Cultural Affairs was established on 1 January 1991 and the Chief Executive took up duties in August 1991. The ministry [took] over the policy functions previously performed by the Arts and Cultural Heritage Division of the Department of Internal Affairs" (Department of Statistics 1993, p.193). With the MAC not going ahead and its substitute not being established until the first term of the Fourth National Government, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The second promise detailed that:

"Labour will encourage, assist and promote the marketing of craft-based industries in New Zealand and for export." (4)

With reference to visual arts and crafts, "the [Queen Elizabeth the Second Arts] Council continued its support for projects designed to improve the marketing services available through the national network of commercial galleries" (AJHR 1988 Vol.10 G.11, p.10). In addition, international programmes were undertaken to promote New Zealand visual arts and crafts in Australia and Korea (ibid, p.11). This marketing encouragement for New Zealand craft-based industries sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third and final arts and crafts, culture and heritage plank related to funding the arts and established that:

"Labour will substantially increase the funding for the Artbank Programme which it has established." (5)

The DIA reports from 1987-90 make no reference to Artbank and neither does Hansard. Bassett does not know what happened to Artbank (pers. com. 29/1/08), but a contact in the Ministry of Culture and Heritage suggested that the Artbank Programme ended when Bassett became the Minister of Arts and Culture (pers. com. 10/4/08). This being the case, the pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the second term's arts and crafts, culture and heritage promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.3 Broadcasting

With 26 commitments, broadcasting was nominally smaller than the arts, but still produced three for assessment. The first of these asserted that:

“Broadcasting, under Labour, will maximise choice, independence in public affairs and documentary production and an awareness of the possibilities opened up by recent technological advances.” (6)

Between 1987-9, the number of private commercial AM, FM and television stations rose significantly from 25 to 40 (AJHR 1987 Vol.9 F.4, p.11 & 1989 Vol.9 F.4, p.10). This expansion in broadcasting increased choice, maintained politically independent public radio and television and took advantage of newly developed frequency modulation radio options. The plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related specifically to radio and boasted that:

“Labour will encourage the expansion of Radio Access broadcasting.” (7)

BCNZ reported that one of their highlights during 1988 was that “RNZ [Radio New Zealand] help[ed] establish [a] second Access Radio service (AJHR 1988 Vol.9 F.3, p.2). This effectively doubled the amount of public access radio available in New Zealand and sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The third and final broadcasting commitment related to children’s television programming and claimed that:

“The Labour Government will promote a minimum quota for children's and young persons' television programming of one and a half hours per channel per day.” (7)

By 1990, TV1 was regularly still only showing half this much children/youth programming daily (Listener & TV Times, February 1990). While TV2 and 3 were meeting the quota, the lack of adherence by the publicly owned TV1 sees this plank coded as unfulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the second term’s broadcasting pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.4 Communications

With only 7 promises, communications was the smallest of the policy areas to be assessed resulting in a single assessment. It detailed that:

“The introduction of new technology will continue to be negotiated as an industrial matter and its effects monitored to ensure that the benefits are fairly distributed.” (9)

According to Helen Clark (Deputy Prime Minister), before the FLG took office, “when major change was contemplated in an industry, or perhaps by the introduction of new technology, unions were really behind the eight ball and in a defensive position, reacting to the changes and initiatives of others, and not having a right to be involved at an earlier stage.” She also suggested that “with the changes in the industrial relations framework under the Labour Government, that unions [then had] the opportunity to participate in a meaningful way in the process of economic and industrial change” (NZPD Vol.501 1989, p.12744). These changes, permitting greater negotiation between industrial capital and labour, ensured that employees had more input into the distribution of benefits accruing from the introduction of new technology. This commitment is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.5 Community

With 10 planks, community was another small policy area and once again only one of these was assessed. It related to central government and established that:

“Labour will also provide co-ordinating officers to work between community groups and government departments.” (11)

Neither the Hansard record nor the DIA (responsible for community policy) reports from 1987-90 make any reference to co-ordinating officers and when questioned on this, Michael Bassett (Minister of Internal Affairs) made no specific reference to this

having occurred either (pers. com. 29/1/08). As a result, the second term's only community pledge assessed is coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate.

6.2.6 Consumer Affairs

With 16 promises, consumer affairs was also a small policy area and yet again one of these was assessed. It asserted that:

“Consideration will be given to developing business codes of practice where these are to the consumers' benefit and do not restrict competition.” (12)

According to Margaret Shields (Minister of Consumer Affairs), during the FLG's second term, the “Sale of Goods Act was replaced and the Consumer Guarantees Act was passed. Codes of practice around advertising and motor vehicle sale standards were developed” (pers. com. 21/1/08). These measures were designed to benefit consumers and promote free but fair competition. This commitment is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.7 Defence

With 20 planks, defence was yet another less significant policy area, although two of these were assessed. The first boasted that:

“Labour will ensure that New Zealand's defence policy is consistent with, and supportive of, the principles of the United Nations Charter and the United Nations' need for peacekeeping forces.” (13)

With reference to the ANZUS alliance, David Lange explained that “the commitments set out in the treaty, to which New Zealand remain[ed] a party, [we]re very straightforward. Article I state[d] that parties undert[ook] to settle, by peaceful means, any dispute that ar[ose] in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter” (NZPD Vol.497 1989, p.10334). New Zealand was also widely involved in peacekeeping during the FLG's second term including assistance in Lebanon, Iran, Iraq (Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT) 1990/4, pp.36-

7), Namibia, Nicaragua, Israel, Syria and Cyprus (ibid /3, pp.41-2). This support for the United Nations Charter and peacekeeping sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The other defence promise related to equipment and claimed that:

“Labour will ensure that the defence forces are adequately equipped to meet New Zealand's defence objectives.” (14)

This promise was tested surrounding the Anzac frigate debate. Bob Tizard (Minister of Defence) believed that the purchase of the frigates was so crucial to the fulfilment of this promise that as Lange threatened not to support the deal in Cabinet, Tizard told him; “I’ll never vote for you again while your arsehole points to the ground” if he failed to deliver his vote for the proposal (pers. com. 22/1/08). Ultimately, it was Lange’s replacement, Geoffrey Palmer who had to front for this deal, which he authorised. He stated that “New Zealand’s self-reliance would be enhanced by co-operating with Australia, which share[d] the same direct strategic interests.” He tabled a list of defence objectives that flowed from a defence assessment known as the ‘1987 Defence White Paper’ and concluded that the purchase of the frigates was “manageable and that the cost of the Anzac ships [could] be absorbed without an expenditure blow-out and without sacrificing the concept of a balanced defence force retaining air, land, and maritime capabilities” (NZPD Vol.501 1989, pp.12396-7). This is compelling evidence that Labour did ensure New Zealand met its defence objectives seeing the commitment coded as fulfilled. As both of the second term’s defence planks assessed were fulfilled, this represents a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.8 Disabled Persons

With just 10 pledges, disabled persons was half the size of defence and only one of these was assessed. It detailed that:

“The Labour Government will continue to encourage greater co-ordination and co-operation between agencies providing services for the disabled, whether these are in the public, private or voluntary sector;” (16)

Michael Cullen (Minister of Social Welfare) suggested that this encouragement was continued. He gave an example of this by stating that “the Rehabilitation League Hospital Rehabilitation services w[ould] continue to operate and a closer co-ordination with other service providers such as workshops, [was] being encouraged” (Hansard 19 Jul 1990, Q.214). This continued encouragement for greater co-ordination and co-operation sees the promise coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.9 The Economy

With 40 commitments, the economy was the first significant policy area in the 1987 document and four of these were assessed. The first established that:

“The Labour Government will continue its programme of responsible, effective and efficient economic management.” (17)

While Helen Clark (Deputy Prime Minister) said that she was “proud to be part of a Government that [was] able to provide New Zealand with a clear programme of responsible economic management coupled with forward-thinking social policies” (NZPD Vol.500 1989, p.11767), the responsibility of economic management during the FLG’s second term must be assessed in light of the 1990 fiscal crisis. During 1990, New Zealand’s fiscal position had deteriorated sharply. Although David Caygill (Minister of Finance) had promised a budget surplus, there was actually a massive deficit of 3.2 per cent of GDP with Treasury predicting almost twice this if policies did not change (Dalziel & Lattimore 2001, p.67). As for its effectiveness, between 1987-90, real economic growth in New Zealand remained below 2 per cent, unemployment almost doubled and the balance of payments deficit had increased to 4 per cent of GDP (ibid, p.108). The efficiency of the second term’s economic management is also questionable as notwithstanding substantial public asset sales during the period, public overseas debt was significantly higher in 1990 than when Labour took office in 1984 (ibid, p.42). These indicators suggest irresponsibility, ineffectiveness and inefficiency in economic management. Therefore, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge asserted that:

“Labour will continue its democratic processes aimed at ensuring secure and growing incomes through a wage structure which, in conjunction with a fair tax system, and the provision of social services, assures an adequate living income for all New Zealanders;” (18)

By 1990, real wage rates in New Zealand were lower than they were in 1986 (Dalziel & Lattimore 2001, p.100). Given that inflation adjusted incomes were actually falling, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The third commitment boasted that:

“New Zealand industry will be safeguarded against dumping and unfair subsidies by overseas countries.” (19)

In 1990, Warren Kyd (Clevedon) noted that “New Zealand ha[d] no effective safeguards against dumping by Australian industry” (NZPD Vol.508 1990, p.2224). This lack of safeguarding sees the plank coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final economy pledge related to careful control of government spending and claimed that:

“This will reduce inflation;” (19)

Roger Douglas (Minister of Finance) applauded Labour’s “success in reducing inflation” (Hansard 24 Aug 1988, Q.51). This was an area of economic policy which was managed effectively, perhaps at the cost of all else. The record shows that the second term managed to decrease the CPI (Consumer Price Index) from 18.3% in 1987 to 7.1% in 1990 representing a more than halving of the inflation rate (RBNZ 1992, p.20). This inflationary reduction sees the promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, only 25% of the second term’s economy commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.10 Education

With 100 planks, education was the second largest policy area in the 1987 PD and ten of these were assessed. The first detailed that:

“The Government wants to see greater community involvement in education decision-making at all levels and will review the structure, representation and functions of school committees, boards of governors, education boards, and other educational authorities to ensure that they reflect the aspirations of and are truly representative of the community.” (21)

According to David Lange (Minister of Education), “the task force to review education administration was established in July 1987. On 10 May [1988] its report *Administering for Excellence* was released. The Government sought responses to the report and more than 20 000 were received and considered. In August 1988 *Tomorrow’s Schools*---the Government policy statement---was released. By 1990, when those reforms [we]re fully implemented, schools ha[d] control over their education resources, and they [were] able to use them as they determine[d] within overall guidelines for education set down by the Government” (Hansard 13 Dec 1988, *School Trustees Bill Introduction*). As a result of this process, Boards of Trustees were established for schools which did provide greater opportunity for community representation in the provision of education. As a result, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to early childhood/preschool education and established that:

“To promote stronger State and community support for early childhood education and care, the Labour Government will extend three year integrated childcare and kindergarten teacher training to all teachers' colleges, while developing a coordinated programme for improved training in all early childhood care education programmes;” (21)

As noted in the first half of this chapter, and as Lange states, “in August 1987 policy approval was given for a three year integrated training course in early childhood to extend the two year Division E (Kindergarten) and the one year Division E (Childcare) courses. In February 1988 the three year integrated training was introduced in Palmerston North and Dunedin Teachers Colleges at a cost of \$440,000 in 1987/88. The cost of introducing the three year training in the other 4 teachers colleges over a period of three years [wa]s \$1,381,000 in 1988/89, \$2,371,000 in

1989/90 and \$2,157,000 in 1990/91” (Hansard 15 Mar 1988, Q.12). This extension of early childhood teacher training sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to the school system and asserted that:

“The Labour Government will encourage the use of schools as homework centres and develop programmes of after school care.” (22)

Three years to the day after the FLG won it’s second term, Elizabeth Tennet, the Labour MP for Island Bay, was still asking the question; “Where is the funding for after-school care of those children when they leave school so that they are well cared for” (NZPD Vol.510 1990, p.3505)? It appears from this that these programmes were not developed during this term of government seeing the pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth promise related to primary education and boasted that:

“To strengthen New Zealand's primary schools, Labour will complete the pilot computer education studies and begin to implement more widely the findings from these studies.” (22)

In 1988, “officers of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research completed their evaluation of the two-year exploratory studies in educational computing. The department [of Education] initiated a series of Action Research Projects in primary and secondary schools to review the findings of several exploratory studies in educational computing. On the basis of these studies a national teacher development programme [was] set up to disseminate the knowledge gained from the research projects” (AJHR 1988 Vol.6 E.1, pp.10&13). The completion of these studies and their initial implementation sees this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The fifth plank related to rural education and claimed that:

“To maintain and strengthen services to rural areas and communities, the Labour Government will provide in-service training, financial and moral support before and during parent involvement with the supervision of children undertaking correspondence lessons.” (22)

Notwithstanding substantial correspondence school sections, the Department of Education (DOE) reports from 1987-90 make no reference to in-service training for

the parents of correspondence students and neither does Hansard. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The sixth promise related to resources for learning and with reference to the need for the government to provide adequate resource support, detailed that:

“Therefore, Labour will ensure higher priority for the development of educational television and radio programmes in line with the findings of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting;” (23)

Educational radio programmes from the Correspondence School were already well established by the 1960s and were still running through Radio New Zealand until the late 1990s, but “only in 1988, the final year of the BCNZ, did a definite form of educational television begin and that was at the tertiary level with the broadcasting of programmes to accompany the extramural courses of Massey University” (Day 2000, pp.148-9, 263&402). The introduction of educational television during the second term sees this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The seventh plank related to teacher education and established that:

“The Labour Government will consider the possibility of teacher and trainee teacher exchange with South Pacific countries.” (23)

Notwithstanding substantial teacher education sections, the Department of Education (DOE) reports from 1987-90 make no reference to South Pacific exchanges for teachers and neither does Hansard. This pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The eighth promise related to polytechnic and community training and with reference to the idea that New Zealanders were entitled to high levels of education, asserted that:

“Accordingly, Labour will continue to assist with the provision of childcare facilities and ensure adequate health, welfare and counselling services are available at each continuing education institution.” (24)

Phil Goff (Minister of Education) admitted that by 1990, while “all universities and colleges of education ha[d] childcare facilities”, this could only be said for “most polytechnics” (Hansard 11 Apr 1990, Q.43). Given that ‘each continuing education

institution' did not provide childcare facilities as promised, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The ninth plank related to universities and boasted that:

"Universities will be made more accountable to their local communities."
(24)

As Graham Kelly (Porirua) stated, the Education Amendment Act 1990 did make "tertiary institutions more accountable for their performance and particularly for the quality of education and training they provide[d] from the State's resources" (NZPD Vol.509 1990, p.2766). As a result, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The tenth and final education promise related to educational administration and claimed that:

"Labour will reorganise the administration of education with a view to the establishment of more rational and decentralised decision-making;" (25)

According to David Caygill (Minister of Finance), this was achieved through "changes to the administration of education [mentioned above in education pledges 1&9] designed to increase local autonomy and responsiveness to student needs as well as to achieve the best outcomes for the money invested" (NZPD Vol.509 1990, p.3000). The administrative decentralisation and rationalisation brought about by the School Trustees and Education Amendment Acts see this commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, 60% of the first term's education planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.11 Employment

With 15 pledges, employment was half the average policy size and two of these were assessed. The first related to skills training for the unemployed and detailed that:

"Labour will continue major steps already underway to upgrade skills training." (26)

As Elizabeth Tennet (Island Bay) highlighted, by 1990 Labour had upgraded skills training programmes such as Access so that it trained 60 000 people each year (NZPD Vol.505 1990, p.11). As a result, this promise is coded as fulfilled.

The other employment commitment related to income maintenance and established that:

“Where necessary, eligibility for the unemployment benefit will be removed if a person refuses to take advantage of any reasonable offer made.” (28)

According to Annette King (Acting Minister of Social Welfare), “in cases where it [wa]s considered that a beneficiary [wa]s not available for work or [wa]s not actively seeking work, the Department of Social Welfare ha[d] the authority under section 60 of the Social Security Act to suspend or withdraw payment of the unemployment benefit” (Hansard 28 Nov 1989, Q.32). This authority to remove benefits from those not accepting work sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term’s employment pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.12 Energy

Energy was the same size as employment, but only one of these promises was assessed. It related to electricity and asserted that:

“Nuclear power will not be considered.” (29)

David Caygill (Acting Minister for State-owned Enterprises) confirmed that “the Government ha[d] no intention of developing nuclear energy” (NZPD Vol.502 1989, p.13477). This lack of consideration for nuclear power sees the commitment coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.13 Environment and Conservation

With 52 planks, environment and conservation was a significant policy area and five of these were assessed. The first related to environmental administration and boasted that:

“The Labour Government will complete a review of quangos in the environmental, conservation and heritage protection fields.” (33)

According to Geoffrey Palmer (Minister of Justice), “the Government conducted a review of quangos and a sizeable number [were] abolished. The Conservation Law Reform Bill abolishe[d] more quangos. More than 50 conservation quangos [were] abolished and replaced by a New Zealand Conservation Authority and up to 19 regional conservation boards. The Bill also abolish[ed] 22 fish and game acclimatisation societies and 2 conservancy councils, which [were] replaced by a National Fish and Game Council, with up to 12 regional fish and game councils. Therefore there [was] a considerable net reduction in the quangos in that sector” (NZPD Vol.500 1989, p.11824). This review of environmental quangos sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to native forests and with reference to South Westland, claimed that:

“The moratorium on timber extraction south of the Cook River will continue while the Working Party, chaired by the Secretary for the Environment, completes its work.” (33)

In 1988, the Government decided “to protect all 311,000 ha of former State Forest and Crown land south of the Cook River, South Westland” (AJHR 1989 Vol.5 C.4, p.8). This action made the moratorium permanent and sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to natural waters and with reference to regional water resource management plans, detailed that:

“Such plans will provide the framework for water right applications.” (34)

Water rights were initially assigned on a first come, first served basis, but since the enactment of the RMA in 1991, all water right applications and renewals have gone through the resource consent process which takes into account regional water resource management plans (Milmine 2000). Given that water right applications were not related to resource management plans until after the fourth National Government took office, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth promise related to historic and archaeological sites and established that:

“Labour will review the protection provided for historic sites, buildings and artefacts in the Historic Places Act 1980 and the Antiquities Act 1975.” (34)

According to Koro Wetere (Minister of Maori Affairs), in 1988 there was an “Historic Places Act Review” (Hansard 7 Nov 1989, Q.202). Following this, Phil Goff (Acting Minister of Internal Affairs) confirmed that “during the first half of 1990 [there was] a new Bill to update the Antiquities Act” (ibid 22 Aug 1989, Q.59). These reviews and updates see this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final environment and conservation plank related to international environmental issues and with reference to New Zealand’s discouragement of mineral exploitation in Ross Dependency, asserted that:

“It will encourage other states to take a similarly responsible attitude.” (35)

The Government gave effect to a moratorium on Antarctic mining in 1989. Following this, New Zealand produced a White Paper on the protection of the Antarctic environment featuring this theme. It gave “concrete expression to the Government’s commitment to the protection of the Antarctic environment and its determination to advance that cause internationally through the Antarctic Treaty system. It form[ed] the basis of New Zealand’s proposals advanced at [October’s] Antarctic Treaty meeting in Paris” (MERT 1989/4, p.19). This determination to encourage international protection of the Antarctic environment sees the pledge coded as

fulfilled. Overall, 80% of the second term's environment and conservation promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.14 Fisheries

With 11 commitments, fisheries was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It related to sustainable production and boasted that:

“The Government will carefully monitor the new management regime to ensure the continued commercial viability of fish stocks.” (36)

According to Ken Shirley (Minister of Fisheries), “it was left to the Labour Government to bring in a quota management system in 1984 that prov[ed] to be efficient in the management of our fisheries. A good result [was] that several species [were] showing signs of significant recovery” by 1990 (NZPD Vol.510 1990, p.4266). These examples of fish stock recovery see the plank coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.15 Forestry

Forestry was slightly larger than fisheries with 13 pledges, two of which were assessed. The first claimed that:

“A new policy provided four treatment categories for taxation of forestry expenditure: expenditure of capital which is neither deductible nor depreciable; capital expenditure on limited assets which will be annually depreciable against income from any source; direct forestry crop expenditure which will be capitalised to a cost of bush account; indirect taxation which will remain annually deductible from income from any source.” (38)

According to Koro Wetere (Acting Minister of Forestry), the taxation regime was classified into the four categories mentioned by 1989. This meant, among other things, that “deductions [were] allowed for capital depreciation against income from any source. The costs [could] be capitalised to a ‘cost of bush’ account unindexed and

bec[a]me deductible against harvesting revenue or revenue from the sale of forest [and] the costs incurred in the maintenance of the forest business, such as overheads, rents, interests, fertiliser and protection costs, [were] fully deductible in the year incurred against income from any source” (Hansard 23 May 1989, Q.59). This newly applied forestry taxation regime sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The other forestry commitment related to the Forestry Ministry and detailed that:

“The Ministry’s very considerable resource of research and advisory expertise will be available, on commercial terms, for the use of the private sector.” (39)

According to Peter Tapsell (Minister of Forestry), research and advisory services were “provided on a willing buyer/willing seller basis [to] include short term research for the forest industry and forestry consultancy services for New Zealand and overseas clients. Charges [were] set to fully recover the costs involved, generally with a profit margin” (Hansard 19 Apr 1988, Q.177). This sale of expertise on commercial terms to the private sector sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term’s forestry pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.16 Health

With 31 promises, health was a significant policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to the maintenance and improvement of health and established that:

“The Government will place emphasis on health in the workplace through enforcement of adequate safety measures, staff education, and provision of appropriate health services.” (41)

In 1988/89, Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) sought to emphasise health in the workplace by “enforcing compliance with the standards established by regulation or in Codes of Practice” (AJHR 1989 Vol.10 G.1, p.21). This included inspecting work places; auditing safety and risk management programmes; adjudicating between

safety representatives or workers and employers on matters relating to occupational safety and health; inspecting facilities for the storage and transport of hazardous substances; eliminating unacceptable hazards (by undertaking disposal of improvised explosive devices, for example); publication and distribution of health and safety educational material to workers and; provision of a full range of health and safety support services (ibid). This emphasis on OSH through the provision of these services sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to providing health care where and when it was needed at minimum cost and asserted that:

“The Government will increase support for health initiatives from the community, including the provision of realistic funding for health centres, self-help groups and support networks.” (41)

According to Helen Clark (Minister of Health), the 1989 Labour Party conference “supported the Government’s action to encourage area health boards to be more effective and responsive to community health needs, and went out of its way to recognise that the Government had increased funding substantially in recent years. Remits were passed that related to union health centres, which the Government supported [and] to women’s health centres, which the Government supported” (NZPD Vol.502 1989, p.12865). The increased support for these community health initiatives sees this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The third and final health promise related to Maori health and boasted that:

“With serious health problems facing many Maoris, Labour will continue a Maori Health Education programme using the marae, schools and Maori radio and television programmes as contact media.” (42)

Early into the FLG’s second term, Koro Wetere (Minister of Maori Affairs) indicated the Government’s clear intention to build on the existing Maori health education programme through a range of contact media including the marae, schools, radio and television, drawing “upon the expertise of Maori health professionals and appropriate persons within the Maori community” (NZPD Vol.483 1987, p.133). The continuation of this programme undertaken during the FLG’s first term sees the

commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the second term's health planks assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.17 Housing

With 38 pledges, housing was another major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to affordability assistance and claimed that:

“Labour's 'Homestart' programme, introduced in 1986, will continue to give families and individuals on low to middle incomes a first home start with subsidised assistance to bridge the deposit gap.” (44)

According to Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Southern Maori), the 1988 Budget ensured that “home owners w[ould] easily obtain increased lending to bridge the deposit gap, because mortgage finance w[ould] be made available for a higher percentage of the valuation of a house [and] more first-time house purchases w[ould] benefit from the Homestart interest subsidy, which increase[d] by about 50 percent from \$20,330 to \$29,149” (NZPD Vol.491 1988, p.5917). This continued assistance to first home buyers through the Homestart programme sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to co-operative housing and detailed that:

“Labour will continue to investigate and promote the concept of co-operative housing as an alternative approach which offers participants security of tenure, greater control over their lives and removes the profit element from housing costs.” (44)

The Associate Minister of Housing, Fran Wilde, stated that by “drawing on overseas and New Zealand experience, the investigative committee summaris[ed] the forms of co-operative housing that could be considered for development in the local context. The co-operative housing package target[ed] modest-income and low-income families, and single people who met the Housing Corporation's eligibility criteria for rental housing and loan finance” (NZPD Vol.484 1987, p.1033). The continued investigation, promotion and packaging of co-operative housing see this plank coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to rental housing and established that:

“Tenants will be required to properly maintain their properties and acknowledge the rights of neighbours to quiet enjoyment of life.” (45)

The 1986 Residential Tenancies Act actually required landlords to maintain their properties and this was not amended during the FLG’s second term (NZS Vol.3 1986, p.1160; cf the 1996 reprint showing no change). The lack of any legislative requirement for tenants to maintain their properties sees this promise coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final housing commitment related to Maori housing and asserted that:

“The Labour Government will continue to work to remove obstacles to the achievement of uniformly high housing standards for all New Zealanders.” (45)

Although Labour committed itself to achieving high housing standards, the government’s housing provider, the Housing Corporation, did no such thing. In fact, one of its goals for 1989 was to ensure that housing standards were maintained at only an acceptable level, and even this was to be encouraged through influencing the private sector (AJHR 1990 Vol.1 B.13, pp.4-5). This lowering of the housing standard committed to sees the plank coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 50% of the second term’s housing pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.18 Industrial Relations

With 46 promises, industrial relations was larger than housing and five of these were assessed. The first boasted that:

“The Government will ensure that more of the issues involving labour relations, disputes and associated employment matters and the institutions which relate to them remain consolidated in the 1987 Labour Relations Act;” (47)

Labour amended the Labour Relations Act 1987 in 1989 and 1990 resulting in 24 more sections being inserted into the principal act regarding issues involving labour relations, disputes, associated employment matters and the institutions which relate to them (NZS Vol.3 1989, p.1934 & 1990, p.1694). This consolidation of labour relations legislation sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to union rules and membership and claimed that:

“Under Labour, the law will provide for democratic and accountable systems for unions.” (48)

The Labour Relations Act 1987 provided for these systems and the 1989 and 1990 amendments provided more detailed regulation of union democracy and accountability (op.cit.). With reference to union rules and membership, Graham Kelly (Porirua) stated that, “New Zealand ha[d] a more democratic system, underpinned by the Labour Relations Act, than many countries [while] the National Party policy paper [was] proposing simply to break the link, the accountability that exist[ed] between workers as union members and their union organisation” (NZPD Vol.500 1989, pp.12188-9). This legislative provision for union democracy and accountability sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The third promise related to occupational health and safety and detailed that:

“Requirements for health and safety standards in the work place will be enforced.” (48)

In 1988/89, OSH sought to emphasise health in the workplace by “enforcing compliance with the standards established by regulation or in Codes of Practice” (AJHR 1989 Vol.10 G.1, p.21). This workplace enforcement of health and safety standards sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The fourth plank related to trade union education and established that:

“Labour will support the development of radio and television programmes to inform and educate the public about the role of trade unions in an industrial society.” (49)

The Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA) reports from 1987-90 make no reference to the development of such programmes and neither does Hansard. Stan Rodger (Minister of Labour) confirmed that “this didn’t happen” (pers. com. 24/1/08). As a result, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The fifth and final industrial relations promise related to consultation and information disclosure and asserted that:

“The Government will convene a series of jobs and industry forums to enable a deeper understanding of the problems currently being faced by manufacturing industries.” (49)

The Department of Labour reports from 1987-90 make no reference to these forums and neither does Hansard. Rodger could not recall them having been convened although he knew that Mike Moore (Minister of Overseas Trade and Marketing) had tried to reach common ground with relevant unions through more intimate meetings rather than larger forums (op.cit.). This being the case, the commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 60% of the second term’s industrial relations planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.19 International Affairs

With 57 pledges, international affairs was another major policy area and six of these were assessed. The first related to the search for peace and boasted that:

“Labour will continue to oppose the spread of nuclear weapons and will actively work for nuclear disarmament.” (52)

According to Philip Woollaston (Acting Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control), “in support of a comprehensive test ban and a strengthened nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and to react to the challenges of the dramatic changes in Europe, PACDAC [Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control] reassert[ed] its opposition to nuclear deterrence anywhere as a dangerous doctrine which remain[ed] a critical barrier to effective disarmament and lasting peace. Certainly, the Government support[ed] a comprehensive nuclear-test ban and a

strengthened non-proliferation treaty. New Zealand d[id] not support at all the principle of nuclear deterrence for this country. The Government [was] opposed to nuclear weapons anywhere in the world, and [did] not propose to allow them into New Zealand ports” (NZPD Vol.506 1990, pp.738-9). This opposition was given voice by New Zealand at the Fourth Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Geneva from August to September 1990. Although efforts to break an impasse over nuclear testing failed, New Zealand contributed significantly to excellent progress made on a number of related issues such as fullscope safeguards and security assurances (MERT 1990/4, pp.43-4). This opposition to proliferation and work towards disarmament see the promise coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to the United Nations and claimed that:

“Labour will, together with the governments of other small countries, promote the concept of the United Nations itself accepting the role of guarantor of security for small states.” (52)

The MERT reports from 1987-90 make no reference to the promotion of this concept and neither does Hansard and according to Russell Marshall (Minister of Foreign Affairs), “nothing was done about this” (pers. com. 28/1/08). As a result, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The third pledge related to the Pacific and detailed that:

“Labour will direct aid to projects promising to generate self help and self reliance in small island economies.” (53)

According to Marshall, with reference to assistance for self-help community projects in Pacific Island countries, “within bilateral aid allocations administered on a government to government basis, country programmes contain[ed] small-project funds directed at community projects” and in 1987, “the Government intend[ed] that funds for [these] community projects [would] be at least maintained” (NZPD Vol.484 1987, p.939). This direction of aid to self help projects sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to Antarctica and established that:

“Labour will continue to recommend to other Antarctic Treaty partners, in line with New Zealand's own practice, that environmental impact assessment procedures cover all major aspects (scientific, mineral, tourist) of Antarctic involvement;” (54)

According to Phil Goff (Acting Minister for the Environment), “the Government c[a]me up with specific proposals for the October [1989] meeting in Paris of the Antarctic treaty parties. Those proposals [were] designed to provide a comprehensive Antarctic protection regime. There [were] several proposals. The first [was] designed to extend the environmental impact assessment procedures to all human activities in Antarctica (NZPD Vol.502 1989, p.12935). This recommendation to extend environmental impact assessment procedures sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to discrimination and justice and asserted that:

“The Labour Government will support the United Nations' and other international efforts to end discrimination on grounds of race, sex and religion, and protect basic human rights.” (54)

“Pursuant to New Zealand’s international legal obligations, the ministry [MERT] completed New Zealand’s report under the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and finished an extensive report on New Zealand’s compliance with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [incl. religious freedom]. New Zealand ratified the UN Convention on Torture, acceded to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [incl. gender equality] and ratified the Second Optional Protocol on the Abolition of the Death Penalty” (AJHR 1990 Vol.1 A.1, p.19). This support for the protection of basic human rights sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The sixth and final international affairs commitment related to New Zealand representation overseas and boasted that:

“The Labour Government will continue to oppose outside military intervention in the affairs of Latin America.” (55)

This was ostensibly an oblique reference to the United States intervention in the affairs of Nicaragua as they supported the right-wing Contras in opposition to the

governing left-wing Sandanistas under the leadership of Ortega. In 1986, New Zealand had voted in favour of accepting an ICJ judgment finding the United States to be “in breach of its obligation under customary international law not to intervene in the affairs of another state” (MERT 1986/1, p.37). In addition to this, during the FLG’s second term, according to Marshall, “we gave implicit support to Ortega by allowing visit rights. [Marshall] authorised an accreditation for our Mexican ambassador to be non-local to Nicaragua and [we] had a visit from the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister” (pers. com. 28/1/08). Therefore, the Government was showing support for the Government opposed by the US and there is nothing in the MERT reports from the period or in Hansard that expresses any change from the 1986 opposition to outside military intervention in the affairs of Latin America. As a result, the plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, five-sixths of the second term’s international affairs pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.20 Justice

With 50 promises, justice was a little smaller than international affairs and five of these were assessed. The first related to courts and tribunals and claimed that:

“The Labour Government will extend the pilot Court Attendant Programme which has been running in Wellington to the rest of New Zealand.” (57)

Peter Tapsell (Minister of Police) gave evidence that Court Attendants were employed outside of Wellington by 15 June 1989. As an example, he cited the Hamilton District Court where three Court Attendants were employed to “assist persons appearing in Court and attend to incidents which occur[red] in the corridors and foyer of the Court” (Hansard 11 Jul 1989, Q.157). The extension of this programme beyond Wellington sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The next two planks related to lawmaking. The first of these detailed that:

“Outdated laws will be eliminated.” (58)

Labour did “promote vigorous programmes of law reform to bring the law up-to-date and make it suitable for modern conditions by simplifying and codifying New

Zealand's statute law and repealing outmoded and inappropriate laws to reduce the restrictions on New Zealanders" (NZLP 1987 PD, p.56). One example of this was the repeal of the Shop Trading Hours Act in 1989. This removed restrictions on retailer's ability to sell goods on Sunday. According to Helen Clark (Minister of Labour), "tourists [were] leaving New Zealand with money jangling in their pockets because of our outdated laws" (NZPD Vol.503 1989, p.13936). In addition, there were a plethora of acts repealed during the FLG's second term because they were no longer relevant in the restructured public sector environment. Examples of these include the Bank of New Zealand Act 1979 and the Broadcasting Act 1976. While these latter Acts became outdated because of the actions of the FLG, like the former example, they were still outdated laws that were eliminated. As a result, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other lawmaking promise established that:

"Labour will encourage States to better assist each other in bringing offenders to justice." (58)

Department of Justice and MERT reports from 1987-90 bear no record of such encouragement and neither does Hansard. Geoffrey Palmer (Minister of Justice) said that the will to do this "led to the Extradition Act 1999" (pers. com. 30/1/08). However, without any evidence of this having been encouraged during the period of the FLG and with the result not being effected until nine years after leaving office, the commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth plank related to administrative law and with reference to class actions, asserted that:

"The related question of provision of legal aid for such actions will be considered." (59)

Labour introduced the Legal Services Bill on the 24th of July 1990. This Bill allowed multiple plaintiffs involved in the same action to be eligible for civil legal aid (NZPB 1990 F-L, p.53). The Bill was not made law until the following year under the subsequent National Government, but given that this provision was only to be considered according to Labour (which it clearly was), the pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final justice promise related to victims of crime and boasted that:

“Labour will act to improve the methods of assistance to the victims of crime.” (59)

According to David Caygill (Minister of Finance), “under the 1987 Victims of Offences Act [passed before the second term of the FLG], one per cent of Court fines [were] used to support the victims of crime through the Victims Task Force. This provide[d] considerable support but the Government propose[d] to make provision for even greater funding [as promised]. This extra funding w[ould] come after the passage of the Criminal Forfeiture Bill which w[ould] attack the economic foundation of crime by recovering from persons convicted of serious offences such as drug trafficking, the assets derived from their criminal activity. The proceeds from seizure of such criminally obtained assets w[ould] be used to further the interests of the victims of crime” (NZPD Vol.509 1990, p.3003). However, this Bill was never enacted. There was therefore no additional action to improve the methods of assistance to the victims of crime over and above the 1987 Act during the FLG’s second term. As a result, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 60% of the second term’s justice planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.21 Local Government

With only 17 pledges, local government was a minor policy area and two of these were assessed. The first claimed that:

“All rating legislation will be consolidated into one Act of Parliament.” (61)

The Rating Powers Act 1988 was an Act to consolidate and amend certain enactments relating to the making and levying of rates. When the Act was being debated in the Bill stage, Jenny Kirk (Birkenhead) said that “it consolidate[d] all of the rating powers into one Bill, and that ma[d]e a lot of sense. The Government’s 1984 policy stated: ‘All rating legislation will be consolidated into one Act of Parliament.’ It ma[d]e sense to consolidate the rating powers from all [other] Acts into one Act of

Parliament” (NZPD Vol.489 1988, p.4319). This consolidation of rating legislation sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The other local government commitment related to greater decentralisation of decision-making and detailed that:

“Labour will devolve appropriate functions upon regional government as part of this process;” (62)

As part of the debate over the Local Government Reform Bill which was aimed at facilitating this process, the opposition MP for Coromandel (Mr Lee) agreed that “the Minister for Local Government [Michael Bassett] ha[d] made it clear that the regions [were] a particular target for his attention [and] it [was] obvious that he [would] ensure that devolution of power to regions continue[d]” (NZPD Vol.498 1989, p.10705). The opposition’s clear acceptance of Labour’s functional devolution upon regional government along with the purposes of the Bill in question see this plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term’s local government pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.22 Maori Affairs

With 79 promises, Maori affairs was the third largest policy area and eight of these were assessed. The first related to the administration of Maori affairs and established that:

“Resources will continue to be devolved to Maori tribal and regional authorities as part of the development process.” (64)

“Internal administrative systems were streamlined to reduce operating costs and maximise the amount of grant funding available for iwi development. Changes [were] instituted under the auspices of the Maori Affairs Restructuring Act 1989, which allow[ed] Te Tai to modify existing programmes to ensure programmes [were] effective for devolution. The Runanga Iwi Bill provide[d] for the incorporation of runanga to represent iwi, and as such, enable[d] registered runanga to enter into contracts with the Crown and other agencies for the provision of services or

disbursement of funds to members of that iwi” (AJHR 1990 Vol.2 E.38, p.5). These devolution-friendly changes see the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to Maori land and the role of Maori authorities and asserted that:

“The Government will continue to support the Federation of Maori Authorities as an organisation to promote and encourage the development of Maori resources and initiatives.” (64)

Neither the Department of Maori Affairs reports nor Hansard from 1987-90 make any reference to support for the Federation of Maori Authorities (FoMA). According to Paul Morgan (FoMA CEO), “there was initial support for the establishment stage of FoMA 1984-86 and thereafter the funding of [the] network has always been precarious. Since 1989 [FoMA has] had no direct funding from the Government for the network other than through contracts for services and sponsorship of [its] economic forums” (pers. com. 30/4/08). The lack of evidence of ongoing Government support for FoMA during the FLG’s second term sees this pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The next two promises related to education and the first of these boasted that:

“Labour will strive for improvements in education by establishing new recruitment and training programmes to attract suitable Maori teachers, especially those fluent in the Maori language;” (65)

In 1988, “the Minister of Education (David Lange) approved the extension of the Maori attestation scheme, He Tohu Matauranga to the primary service. The attestation process [was] administered by the trustees of a marae. It confirm[ed] the candidate’s fluency in the Maori language and understanding of Maori culture. Applicants for primary teacher training [could] use attestation as an additional criterion for entry to a three year training course” (AJHR 1989 Vol.6 E.1, pp.24-5). As a result, “Maori enrolments at colleges of education increased by 175 (41%) from 1988 to 1989” (AJHR 1990 Vol.2 E.1, p.9). The extension of He Tohu Matauranga to increase the number of teachers with fluency in te reo Maori and the resultant success of this change see the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The other education plank claimed that:

“In the secondary schools field, Labour will continue to consider support for building programmes for older students preparing for tertiary education opportunities;” (65)

Neither Education nor Maori Affairs departmental reports from 1987-90 make any reference to building programmes for older students. Hansard is also silent on the matter. The pledge is therefore coded as unfulfilled.

The fifth promise related to youth training and employment and detailed that:

“The integration of vocational training with Maori Access will be enhanced.” (66)

By the end of the FLG, vocational training and Maori Access were still being audited separately and had not been integrated as promised either for administrative or practical purposes (AJHR 1991 Vol.17 E.38, pp.8-9). As a result, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The sixth plank related to housing and with reference to loans for house-building on papakainga, established that:

“The house, and not the land, will be the security for the loan.” (66)

According to Helen Clark (Minister of Housing), “with any of the [Housing] Corporation’s lending programmes the Corporation help[ed] people wishing to live on multiple-owned Maori land where the security for the loan [was] other than a standard mortgage over the land” (Hansard 9 Dec 1988, Q.43). Using assets other than land as security for papakainga home lending sees this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The seventh promise related to health and asserted that:

“The Government will consider changes to the Accident Compensation Act so that funeral expenses for a deceased Maori person shall have regard for Maori cultural values.” (66)

While there were amendments to the Accident Compensation Act between 1987-90, none of them affected the funeral expenses section. In addition, neither the ACC

reports nor Hansard make any mention of such changes having been considered during the period. As a result, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The eighth and final Maori affairs plank related to the environment and boasted that:

“The Government will ensure that tourism ventures recognise the importance of the landscape.” (67)

There is no evidence of specific action having been taken by the FLG during its second term to ensure that tourism ventures recognised the importance of the landscape (NZS, NZPD & AJHR 1987-90). This idea was incorporated to some extent in the RMA, however, this was not enacted until 1991 after the FLG had left office. While the foundations of this Act were formulated during Labour’s government, the principles were not ensured until the following National Government took office. This being the case, the pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only three-eighths of the second term’s Maori affairs promises are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.23 Open Government and Electoral Law

With 39 commitments, open government and electoral law was another major policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to a reform of parliament and with reference to proposed legislation aimed at the disclosure of parliamentary candidates’ pecuniary interests, claimed that:

“Such disclosures will include payments of material benefits received from organisations, individuals, or foreign governments;” (69)

On the 16th of October 2003, the Members of Parliament (Pecuniary Interests) Bill was given its first reading. According to Michael Cullen (Minister of Finance), “the bill require[d] members of Parliament to disclose their pecuniary interests, in order to highlight and avoid possible conflicts of interest between members’ public duties and their private interests” (NZPD Vol.612 2003, p.9266). This was thirteen years after the FLG left office and during the second term of the Fifth LG which meant that the disclosure of material benefits received by MP’s was not required during the FLG’s

second term. Geoffrey Palmer (Prime Minister) suggested that while it was attempted, there was significant resistance to it even at the Cabinet level (pers. com. 30/1/08). As a result, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge related to regulations and red tape and detailed that:

“All regulations will be passed with the inclusion of specific expiry dates.”
(69)

Up until the end of the FLG, regulations were still being passed without expiry dates (e.g. See SR Vol.2 1990 all regs.). This being the case, the promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The third and final open government and electoral law commitment related to law making and established that:

“Labour will develop systematic digests and indexes so that laws will be easier to locate.” (70)

The Index to the NZS was “first issue[d] in June 1993” (Smailes & Thompson 1995, p.1). According to Palmer, “we now have all statutes and regulations online, but this was well after the FLG” (pers com. 30/1/08). Consequently, this plank is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, none of the second term’s open government and electoral law pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate.

6.2.24 Overseas Trade and Marketing

With 19 promises, overseas trade and marketing was a minor policy area and two of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“Labour will encourage a co-operative and co-ordinated approach between companies and with the Government to increase the spin-off from New Zealand's trade promotion.” (71)

The Trade Development Board employed a market development approach which encouraged New Zealand exporters to work together on long-term, well-focused and

integrated programmes. Some examples of this co-operation between companies and the Government to increase exposure of the NZ Inc idea in the period under review included a food, beverages and tourism promotion in Dallas, agricultural field days in Hungary, education trade services mission to Japan and a sales prospects mission with the New Zealand Manufacturer's Federation to Australia to name a few (AJHR 1989 Vol.12 G.45, p.7). This encouragement to co-operate in a co-ordinated approach to increase the spin-off from New Zealand's trade promotion sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The other overseas trade and marketing plank related to CER (Closer Economic Relations with Australia) and boasted that:

"Labour will seek to ensure that second generation issues are included in the agreement to New Zealand's benefit - services such as transport, industry assistance policies such as bounties, and greater uniformity of commercial law." (72)

According to Mike Moore (Minister of External Relations and Trade), "what New Zealand industry receive[d] under the terms of the Review of CER that we concluded with the Australians [in 1988] is completely free access to the Australian market for all goods by 1 July 1990. CER [was] also extended to services and this br[ought] benefits to significant portions of the New Zealand economy that were not covered by CER before. In addition, we [went] a long way to levelling the playing field with Australian industry. The Agreed Minute on Industry Assistance outlaw[ed] the use by Australia of a large range of export promotion payments and production bounties that were previously applied on exports to New Zealand" (Hansard 22 Feb 1989, Q.20). The inclusion of second generation issues to New Zealand's benefit in CER sees this pledge coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the second term's overseas trade and marketing promises assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.25 Pacific Islands

With 29 commitments, Pacific Islands was another minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to employment and claimed that:

“Labour will continue to encourage government departments, local bodies and community service organisations to employ people in relevant areas who can communicate with minority cultural groups.” (73)

The State Sector Act 1988 required the Government in all of its departments to employ with “recognition of the aims and aspirations, and the cultural differences of ethnic or minority groups” (NZS Vol.1 1988, p.251). This legislation encouraged government bodies to employ from minority cultural groups in order to facilitate official cross-cultural communication and meet the requirements enacted in 1988 and the policy plank which is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to education and detailed that:

“Labour will support Pacific Island language nests.” (74)

According to Margaret Shields (Minister of Women’s Affairs), “funds [were] provided for Pacific Island language nests, which develop[ed] rapidly” during 1990 (NZPD Vol.509 1990, p.2761). This financial support for Pacific Island language nests sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The third and final Pacific Islands commitment related to health services and established that:

“The Government will provide community and appropriate health care facilities after consultation with local communities to determine most appropriate locations.” (74)

“In agreeing that an area health board should be driven from the community, rather than directed from the centre, [Board of Health Standing Committee] participants developed a model in which local communities, through community committees or the iwi tribal authority structure, were empowered to allocate the financial resources required to meet their needs. This would include funding primary care providers and purchasing hospital services from the area health board or other competitive providers” (AJHR 1988 Vol.7 E.10, p.30). This provision of funding for communities to determine the nature of their health care expenditure included the resourcing for and of facilities where and as needed and sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, all

of the second term's Pacific Islands pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.26 Police

With 9 promises, police was one of the smaller policy areas and only one of these was assessed. It asserted that:

“The Labour Government will continue to review police training (both recent training and in-service) to ensure it remains relevant for policing in a multi-cultural society.” (76)

According to Peter Tapsell (Minister of Police), in early 1988 “the Commissioner of Police appointed a Superintendent to a Cultural Advisory Review Project. This appointment was made following the recommendations of the Ministerial Committee of Enquiry into Violence that the Police form a Cultural Perspective Advisory Group and also improve their training at the Police College on cultural issues. The[se] recommendations [were] considered from time to time by the Police Executive and implemented as appropriate” (Hansard 25 Feb 1988, Q.4). This cultural advisory review, subsequent recommendations and implementation see the commitment coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.27 Recreation and Sport

With 29 planks, recreation and sport was another minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first boasted that:

“Labour will work closely with the new Hillary Commission for Recreation and Sport as the main vehicle for implementing comprehensive, co-ordinated recreation and sport reform and development programmes.” (77)

“The Commission ha[d] two advisory arms – SportsCorp and RecCorp. These two groupings of commissioners advise[d] the whole commission on policy in their respective areas after consultation with a wide range of related organisations such as

government departments, local authorities, national recreation and sport organisations, and other groups” (AJHR 1988 Vol.9 E.32, p.5). This government consultation with the Commission suggests a close working relationship in the development of sports programmes and sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related specifically to sport and claimed that:

“The Labour Government will give the new Recreation and Sport Commission maximum encouragement to devise and implement policies which will improve coaching at all levels throughout the country;” (78)

In the 1988-9 financial year, “the Hillary Commission distributed \$1,479,350 to 61 national sports organisations, with grants ranging from \$1,000 to \$65,000. Funding was targeted at improving the standard of management in sport through the employment of professional management personnel and the training of volunteers, particularly in the coaching area” (AJHR 1989 Vol.9 E.32, p.11). This encouragement to improve coaching sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third and final recreation and sport plank related to the 1990 Commonwealth Games and detailed that:

“The Government will work with the 1990 Games organisers and others for a successful Commonwealth Games in Auckland.” (78)

According to Bill Sutton (Minister of Agriculture & Forestry), “the Commonwealth Games in Auckland were a superb event and a great success. The Government br[ought] about the first fully inclusive Commonwealth Games for many years” (NZPD Vol.505 1990, pp.119-20). The successful hosting of the Commonwealth Games with sufficient funding and the absence of boycotts sees this pledge coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the second term’s recreation and sport promises assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.28 Regional Development

With 44 commitments, regional development was a major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first established that:

“Labour's regional development policy will help regions to identify development opportunities and their commercial sectors to effectively utilise regional resources;” (81)

According to David Caygill (Minister of Finance), “Bootstraps, a small town self help programme, [was] designed to encourage local people to identify and assess their needs, strengths and opportunities for future local employment and economic development, and to increase the number, quality and variety of local jobs, training and enterprise opportunities. [Labour was] determined to provide more development opportunities” (NZPD Vol.509 1990, pp.2999&3005). Help in identifying and utilising regional resources through the Government-funded Bootstraps programme sees this plank coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to better information and nationwide reviews and asserted that:

“Social and economic indicators such as unemployment, population movements, incomes, general economic activity and resource potential will be monitored.” (81)

During the second term of the FLG, the following monitoring programmes were operating: Economic Monitoring Group; Employment Programme; Environment/Natural Resources Programme; Maori Programme; Income Distribution Group; National Sectoral Programme; Population Monitoring Group and; Social Monitoring Group (AJHR 1988 Vol.5 D.9, pp5-7). The monitoring of such a diverse range of social and economic indicators sees this promise coded as fulfilled.

The third commitment related to funding and boasted that:

“Five principal sources of funding will be available to implement the regional development programme – the first is regional savings;” (82)

According to Peter Dunne (Minister of Regional Development), “funds [were] allocated from a central pool; there [were] no regional budgets.” This meant that any regional savings were reabsorbed and used elsewhere (Hansard 27 Feb 1990, Q.30).

Given that regional savings were therefore not a funding source for a region's development, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth and final regional development pledge related to people skills and claimed that:

“The development of management and leadership skills within the region will also be on the development agenda.” (82)

According to Phil Goff (Minister of Employment), as of January 1989, Labour set up a new programme known as the Local Employment and Enterprise Development Programme. The purpose of this programme was to target those wishing to establish business enterprises in local areas or who already had small businesses and needed management and leadership training in order to improve or develop the effectiveness of their enterprise (Hansard 13 Dec 1988, Q.2). The development of this management and leadership skills programme in the regions sees this promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the second term's regional development commitments are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.29 Science and Technology

With 9 planks, science and technology was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It related to scholarships for university students from groups previously under-represented in the sciences and detailed that:

“Grants will be available to 40 Maori, Pacific Island, and women undergraduates and a small number of postgraduate students.” (84)

According to Margaret Austin (Minister of Research, Science and Technology), “the awards made under this scheme for 1990 [were] as follows: Maori – 52, Pacific Island – 25, Women – 44” (Hansard 10 Jul 1990, Q.61). This totals 121 grants which is more than three times that which was required and sees the pledge coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.30 Social Services

With 27 promises, social services was another minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first established that:

“The Government will continue to review and, where appropriate, increase funding available for community agencies, with priority given to those working effectively to assist families and young people at risk;” (86)

Funding for COGS (Community Organisation Grants Scheme) was increased throughout the FLG’s second term from just over \$4m in 1987 to almost \$11m in 1989. Within this scheme, the “priority target groups for funding [included] youth and families and whanau with children. The continued operation of the scheme [was] dependant on Government decisions about the review of the provision of social services to the voluntary and community sector” (AJHR 1989 Vol.7 E.12, pp.34-5). The review and funding increase for community services to these target groups sees this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to efficient resource use and delivery and asserted that:

“The Labour Government will ensure that, within the Department of Social Welfare, proper emphasis is given to staff support, research and planning techniques;” (87)

Staff “support for direct service delivery [was] provided through training for the implementation of the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act and the SWIFTT [Social Welfare Information for Tomorrow Today] project, and in addressing the industrial relations aspects of the introduction of SWIFTT” (AJHR 1989 Vol.7 E.12, p.12). SWIFTT enabled the Department to database and research staff indicators and provided one technique for planning departmental human resource needs. By ensuring that emphasis was given to staff support, research and planning in these ways, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final social services promise related to war pensions and boasted that:

“Under Labour all former servicemen and women who have served overseas as members of the New Zealand Forces in any war, emergency, or similar service will, from age 60, be eligible as of right for a war service pension as an alternative to national superannuation;” (88)

According to Michael Cullen (Minister of Social Welfare), “former World War II servicemen who [were] receiving GRI [National Superannuation] [could] not relinquish their entitlement in order to replace it with Veteran’s [War Service] Pension” (Hansard 15 May 1990, Q.128). The proclulsion from choosing the Veteran’s Pension instead of National Superannuation as promised sees this commitment coded as unfulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the second term’s social services planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.31 State Services

With 20 pledges, state services was a smaller policy area and two of these were assessed. The first claimed that:

“The Labour Government has set up a review of the concept of equal pay for work of equal value and will act on the results.” (89)

According to Margaret Shields (Minister of Women’s Affairs), “it was not until the [FL] Government came into office that a review was carried out on the way that the equal pay legislation was working and whether further work was needed on it. The two reports clearly showed that the benefits from the original equal pay legislation had been exhausted. If there was to be equality in this country it was essential that something be done. That is what the Government did. It ordered the report that Margaret Wilson – together with the working-party – was responsible for, and it proceeded slowly and steadily to complete work that women in this country have wanted for nearly 100 years” (NZPD Vol.507 1990, p.2028). This action on the results of the equal pay review sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The other state services commitment related to conditions of employment and detailed that:

“The Government will maintain the right and provision for employees to attend trade union education and training courses as established under the Trade Union Education Authority.” (90)

The FLG did a significant amount of work in trade union education including an injection of several million dollars which made it particularly successful. In the 12 months to 20 September 1989, according to Trevor Mallard (Hamilton West), “21,000 individuals attended trade union education courses – not [only] in Wellington or Auckland, but in 90 separate towns and cities” (NZPD Vol.501 1989, p.12752). This maintenance of the right for employees to attend trade union education sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Both of the second term’s state services pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate.

6.2.32 Tourism

With 10 promises, tourism was another minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It established that:

“The Labour Government will expand and coordinate training programmes for all sectors of tourism and the hospitality industry, in cooperation with the industry and appropriate trade unions, through schemes such as Access, technical institute courses and industry training boards;” (91)

According to Graham Kelly (Porirua), “on Access work-based schemes an extra 7200 people [were] targeted each year to participate in an expanded Access programme. That programme double[d] the number of trainees participating in work-based programmes [including in tourism and hospitality], which [were] the programmes that [had], by far, the greatest effect” (NZPD Vol.507 1990, p.2010). This expansion of tourism industry-based training through schemes such as Access sees the commitment coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.33 Transport

With 38 planks, transport was a major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first two related to the railways and the first of these made reference to revitalising the Railways to achieve an effective and competitive service and asserted that:

“The Railways Corporation will be authorised to assume the business functions necessary to achieve this objective.” (94)

Richard Prebble (Minister of Railways) “authorised the Railways Corporation to place core rail activities into one company that [was] set up under the [New Zealand Railways Corporation Restructuring] Bill. The company [had] its own separate board of directors. The non-core assets remain[ed] in the existing corporation and continue[d] to be managed by the existing Railways Corporation. The restructuring allow[ed] New Zealand Railways to continue to build on the significant efficiencies and productivity gains that ha[d] been made” (NZPD Vol.510 1990, p.3650). This authorisation for the Railways to separate business functions and specialise for greater competitive advantage sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The other railways promise related to long distance train and bus passenger operations and boasted that:

“Labour will ensure that the divisions which run these services operate efficiently and with modern financial management.” (94)

According to Stan Rodger (Minister of Railways), “the Railways Corporation [was] required to operate all its long distance passenger services on a fully commercial basis” (Hansard 18 Jul 1989, Q.110). This required efficiency and modern financial management in order to maintain commercial viability and remain competitive. As a result, this commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to shipping and claimed that:

“The work of the Maritime Industry Review (set up to investigate and reports ways of improving the use made of New Zealand seaborne labour resources)

will be considered by the Labour Government and consequent reforms will be implemented on a continuing and communicative basis.” (95)

Following the prime ministerial review of CER in July 1990, the joint communique stated: “We noted the positive trends in recent years arising from waterfront and shipping reforms” (Hawke & Palmer 1990). These Review-based reforms implemented from 1987-1990 see this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final transport promise related to road safety and with reference to a vigorous programme to combat the road accident rate, detailed that:

“A much improved standard of road safety is the objective and accordingly the package of measures will maintain vigorous traffic enforcement including random stopping to detect alcohol and drug-impaired driving and continue to tighten blood alcohol and other chemical substances legislation;” (96)

According to Bill Jeffries (Minister of Transport), random stopping was being maintained and “traffic officers in New Zealand block[ed] roads to check and test drivers. The policy followed [over the 1987] Christmas period and since at other high risk times [was] to breath test all drivers stopped for speeding during normal drinking hours. The programme link[ed] two major factors in New Zealand road fatalities: speed and alcohol” (Hansard 21 Sep 1988, Q.21). On-the-spot summonses were introduced in 1988 and in 1989, drivers were breath tested when stopped at night for either speeding or not wearing a seatbelt. These vigorous enforcement measures helped to reduce the road toll from 795 in 1987 to 729 in 1990 (Land Transport Safety Authority 2008). This much-improved standard of road safety achieved through tighter enforcement for substance-affected drivers sees this commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, all of the second term’s transport planks assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfillment rate for this policy area.

6.2.34 Women

With 105 pledges, women was the largest policy area in the NZLP 1987 PD, no doubt assisted by the new Ministry of Women’s Affairs policy advice and the Labour Women’s Caucus, it reflected many of the ideas important to both of these

institutions. Ten of these were assessed and the first related to employment and established that:

“The Labour Government will replace the Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act with the Parental Leave and Employment Protection Act which will extend leave provisions to fathers and the period of leave to a shared 12 months.” (98)

The Labour Government replaced the Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act 1980 with the Parental Leave and Employment Protection Act 1987 which came into force on the 1st of October 1987. It extended leave provisions to fathers and the period of leave to a shared twelve months (NZS Vol.4 1987, No.129). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to the home and community and asserted that:

“The Labour Government will continue to give priority to supporting the continuation of the home milk delivery service.” (98)

The Labour Government passed the Milk Act 1988, which was “an Act to provide for the continued home delivery of milk” (NZS Vol.1 1988, p.148). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to education and boasted that:

“To achieve educational equality of opportunity for women of all ages and the full development of human potential on a non-sexist and anti-racist basis, Labour will implement an affirmative action programme to ensure that positions of responsibility are held by women commensurate with their representation in the relevant sector of the teaching professions, and ensure that there will be at least one woman amongst the three senior administrative positions in all co-educational secondary schools;” (99)

A survey of all public co-educational secondary schools in Christchurch revealed that all had at least one woman amongst the three senior administrative positions in 1990 (McCluskey, 2008a). This promise is coded as fulfilled.

The next two commitments related to health and the first of these claimed that:

“The Government will sponsor a series of regional forums to discuss health issues and the development of local policies with particular emphasis on the needs of women.” (99)

According to Margaret Shields (Minister of Women’s Affairs), “in the second term there was a “high level of consultation with women’s groups [through the] Ministry of Women’s Affairs [MWA]” (pers. com. 21/1/08). However, this did not equate with “the 1984 Women’s Forums” the 1987 policy alluded to (Stace 2005, p.127). There is certainly no mention of women’s regional health forums in the MWA reports or Hansard from 1987-90. As a result, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The other health pledge detailed that:

“Labour will urgently assess the present provisions of maternity services in New Zealand to ensure the interests of women and children are paramount.” (100)

Labour’s effectiveness in securing the interests of women through maternity provision was questioned by Katherine O’Regan (Waipa) when she stated “that it supported the option of planned home births and therefore the need for an extended domiciliary midwife service. The latter [did] not happen [initially], and maternity services [were] under real threat. In [Waipa] one maternity hospital clos[ed] and another [was] shrunk to a birthing unit” (NZPD Vol.491 1988, p.5998). According to Shields, there was “huge diversity in views of how maternity should go [and there was a] shift towards home-birthing and midwifery” (pers. com. 21/1/08). “The Nurses Amendment Act of 1990 introduced by the Minister of Health (Helen Clark) enabled a registered midwife to undertake responsibility for the care of women throughout pregnancy and childbirth, without being supervised by a medical practitioner. The Act also made provision for direct-entry midwifery education. The net effect of the Act was to greatly expand the choice for women in relation to childbirth” (Kate Sheppard Midwifery 2008). This assessment of maternity services and ultimately the effective provision based on women’s interests sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The sixth commitment related to housing and established that:

“In the housing field, Labour will provide housing assistance for low-income women on their own and for low-income extended families;” (100)

According to Helen Clark (Minister of Housing), a pilot fund was put aside for financing worthy housing projects that aimed to help low-income women and families (NZPD Vol.496 1989, p.9523). This housing assistance for low-income women sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The next two pledges related to the MWA and the first of these asserted that:

“With increased funding and resources, the Ministry's functions will be expanded and will include funding women's projects;” (100)

During the FLG's second term, an MWA Project Fund was created with the purpose of funding women's projects. In 1988-9 it had a budget of \$53,000 which was divided up between 125 successful applicants (AJHR 1989 Vol.12 G.39, p.22). This expansion of the MWA's functions to include funding women's projects sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The other MWA commitment related to the establishment of a Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Pornography and boasted that:

“The Committee, of not more than three persons, will include two women and be chaired by a woman.” (101)

A Committee of Inquiry into Pornography was appointed late in 1987. It consisted of a man and two women, one of whom was the chair – Joanne Morris (Pornography – Report of the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry 1989, p.3). This plank is coded as fulfilled.

The ninth pledge related to violence against women and children and claimed that:

“The Labour Government will ensure existing refuges, rape crises, sexual abuse centres and Te Kakano are adequately funded, including increased provision for permanent workers;” (101)

Between 1987 and 1990 funding for these centres increased from \$2,750,000 to \$4,282,000. This additional funding increased the provision for permanent paid staff (AJHR 1990 Vol.2 E.12, p.56). As a result, this promise is coded as fulfilled.

The tenth and final commitment to women related to family law and detailed that:

“The Government will establish a joint committee with representatives from the Department of Justice and Ministry of Women's Affairs to investigate the implications of communal property, including relevant overseas experience and research;” (102)

Shields was not sure about this joint committee when questioned (pers. com. 21/1/08). MWA reported that “a number of specific activities, such as a major project on the Matrimonial Property Act 1976, were deferred” (AJHR 1990 Vol.3 G.39, p.29). It appears that the joint committee was part of the deferred property law project. This being the case, the plank is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 80% of the second term’s women’s pledges are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.35 Works

With 8 promises, works was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It related to how the proposed corporatisation of the Ministry of Works and Development would better meet national infrastructural needs and established that:

“The new corporation will also be able to take better advantage of design and construction opportunities overseas.” (103)

By 1990, “substantial progress ha[d] been made in developing an international business for the corporation. As well as the offices opened in the United Kingdom and Singapore to target the European and South East Asian markets, another office [was] established in Hong Kong to specifically address the opportunities in that area. This investment started to pay dividends with projects secured including architectural work in London, sewage treatment projects in Singapore, a port study in the Maldives, input into an urban renewal planning study in Hong Kong, and seismic engineering

services following the December 1989 earthquake in Newcastle, Australia” (Works and Development Services Corporation NZ Limited 1990, p.8). This evidence of involvement in design and construction opportunities overseas sees the commitment coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

6.2.36 Youth

With 40 planks, youth was a major policy area and four of these were assessed. The first related to a proposed group of specialist staff attached to a Minister of Youth Affairs and asserted that:

“Their responsibilities will include maintaining an overview of youth programmes in different developmental areas, and co-ordinating programmes in other departments;” (104)

By 1990, an Office of Youth Affairs had been established and they had undertaken “a review of [youth] programmes and made recommendations to the Minister for future directions” with consideration for the work being done in other departments (AJHR 1990 Vol.2 E.41, p.22). This overview and co-ordination of youth programmes by the new office sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to co-operation with the voluntary sector and boasted that:

“The Labour Government will, in co-operation with the voluntary youth sector, encourage the appropriate establishment of youth centres to meet the needs of young people, and will ensure they are adequately funded.” (105)

Neither the Office of Youth Affairs reports nor Hansard from 1987-90 report any such encouragement for the establishment of youth centres. In addition, a survey of all New Zealand Youth Centres operating in 2008 revealed that none of them were established during the second term of the FLG (McCluskey, 2008b). As a result, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled.

The third plank related to the transition from school to working life and claimed that:

“Labour recognises that unemployment, especially among young people, is a major economic and social problem facing New Zealand and will continue to provide appropriate programmes for training and creating jobs.” (106)

Labour passed the Education Amendment Act 1990 which established the Education Training and Support Agency whose function was to “administer the Access Training Scheme, the Apprenticeship Scheme, the Primary Industry Cadet Scheme, and such other activities and programmes relating to education or training as the Minister [of Education] determine[d]” (NZS Vol.2 1990, p.926). This provision for appropriate job creation and training programmes sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final youth and NZLP 1987 PD promise related to health, leisure and recreation and with reference to a recognition of the need for recreation for young people, detailed that:

“Accordingly, Labour will sponsor media campaigns to create awareness among young people of leisure and recreational opportunities.” (106)

This was accomplished through the KiwiSport videos which were aimed at encouraging young people to get involved in recreational activities. They were funded through the Hillary Commission and extensively broadcast by Television New Zealand at no cost (AJHR 1990 Vol.2 E.32, p.8). This government-sponsored media campaign to create recreational awareness amongst youth sees the commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, 75% of the second term’s youth planks are coded as fulfilled.

6.2.37 Second Term Summary

There were 38 sections in the NZLP 1987 PD and 36 of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. The two policy areas omitted were ‘Immigration’ and ‘Lands’. These areas contained six and four promises respectively and the representative selection process did not allow for their inclusion because the promises they contained were not the next tenth promise in order.

Out of a total sample of 114 promises, Labour fulfilled 82. This represents a fulfilment rate of 72%. This is substantially higher than the result for the first term

and represents the biggest implementation improvement between terms so far (10% increase). It suggests that Labour's second term achieved a more acceptable level of policy implementation from a domestic and international perspective, with most other New Zealand government terms and most other majoritarian systems normally recording 70-80% fulfilment rates. This result probably occurred as Labour went into damage control resulting from a backlash to some of the major restructuring which they had been responsible for, but which much of New Zealand was unprepared for. However, notwithstanding a recommitment to their social policy agenda, this was not enough to persuade significant numbers of traditional Labour voters to stand by their party once the top level of the parliamentary Labour Party became riven with dissension, resignations and serious reshuffling which began to look more and more like a rearrangement of the Titanic's deck-chairs. While much has been written about what many considered to be the FLG's breach of electoral good faith, whether one agrees with the policies or not, the second term's record of achievement shows a significant improvement on that of the first term.

6.3 *FOURTH LABOUR GOVERNMENT SUMMARY*

Out of a total sample of 292 promises, Labour fulfilled 192. This represents a fulfilment rate of 66%. This makes the overall result for the fourth Labour Government significantly lower (11-12%) than that of both previous governments and well outside the margin of error (5%). This compares favourably with Republican Party policy implementation under Reagan's administration at the same time (1984 – 58%, Royed 1996), but much less favourably against the British Conservative Party's performance (1983 – 88%, *ibid*). The diminished performance of the FLG has been blamed on a number of factors including (and perhaps fundamentally for present purposes) a rushed and incomplete manifesto in 1984 due to the snap election, an inherited fiscal crisis of significant proportions, policy hijacking undertaken largely by Roger Douglas, a massive stock market crash rivalling 1929 and internal division, strife and personality conflicts which hampered co-operation. Ironically, it was actually Labour's response to National's legacy rather than the legacy itself which was to blame. As Bob Tizard (Minister of Defence who resigned in 1990) has said regarding Labour's immediate response to New Zealand's fiscal issues in 1984; "Lange and Douglas were in conference with officials of Treasury and the Reserve

Bank. The \$NZ was floated instead of being sold by the Reserve Bank at an officially fixed rate and rapidly sank to a market worth of 42 to 44 US cents for \$1NZ. That fact governed our political actions for most of the three years to 1987. All imports became much dearer and the cost of the public debt had nearly doubled in terms of our NZ dollar. Those two aspects of the currency devaluation were the deciding factors in the actions of the fourth Labour Government. What might have been written in policy proposals had to take a backseat” (pers. com. 11/2/08). Nevertheless, the FLG progressively improved their policy implementation performance from 1984-90. This supports the hypothesis that it becomes easier to fulfil promises, the longer a party is in government due to both a greater degree of control over the means of fulfilment and making promises with more accuracy and realism once an incumbent. The irony here is that it seems the longer a party is in power, the more it keeps its promises, but generally, the more it loses electoral support. That was certainly the case for the FLG because after a relatively poor implementation performance between 1984-7, its electoral support increased from 43-48%, however, after performing much better in its second term, this support evaporated to just 35%.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FOURTH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT 1990-9

As the fourth government to be analysed in this study, the Fourth National Government (FNG) came to power as a reaction to an economic recession that materially affected most New Zealanders, with more seats than any party had managed to secure in any previous election in New Zealand's history. This saw the beginning of a period in which "the National Government imposed yet more dramatic change [which] continued along the path of Labour's economic policies, popularly known as 'Rogernomics', despite the severity of Labour's electoral defeat on the basis of the same policies" (Vowles & Aimer 1993, p.8). This ongoing change was not in the direction the majority of the electorate had hoped and it resulted in a successful bid to change New Zealand's electoral system from a First-Past-the-Post (FPP) to a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. This change took place during the FNG and returned it to power in 1996, albeit in a reduced form as the majority coalition partner for New Zealand First (NZF). Like the previous Labour Government, National faced a leadership coup of its own as Jenny Shipley replaced Jim Bolger in 1997 and although the Government initially enjoyed a rise in popularity in the polls under Shipley's leadership, as the relationship between National and NZF started falling apart and "the reforms continued, support for both New Zealand First and National crashed in the 1999 election" (Wright 2004, p.443). In addition, National had inherited a serious financial crisis from the outgoing Moore administration, which meant that some very tough decisions would need to be made. This expediency had to be measured against the implementation of policies in a manifesto that was very different in size from its predecessors. Notwithstanding this, National's 1990 policy document contained 85 more pledges than the 1993 version, which in turn contained over 60 more than that produced for the 1996 election. Overall, there were 450 pledges made in the three major election policy documents of 1990, 1993 and 1996. This chapter will present an assessment of a representative sample of 10% of those commitments, 46 in all.

7.1 FIRST TERM: 1990-3

The 1990 policy document of the New Zealand National Party, entitled ‘National Party Policies for the 1990s – Creating a Decent Society’ (NZNPP 1990), contained in total, just 228 pledges on 30 pages making it the smallest policy document with the fewest pledges assessed so far and representing an average of less than 8 promises per page. This indicates a density that was slightly higher than that of National’s 1975 General Election Policy.

7.1.1 Enterprise: The Path to Prosperity

This policy area introduced the NZNPP 1990 and formed a general overview of the direction a National Government would take. While it argued rhetorically that Labour was heading in the wrong direction, ironically it foreshadowed a group of policies that reflected less of what Labour had promised and more of what it had done. It contained 12 commitments presented by Jim Bolger (National Party Leader), two of which were assessed. The first of these related to National’s shadow cabinet and asserted that:

“My team is well prepared to meet the challenge, and eager to start cleaning up the mess that Labour will leave behind.” (1)

Arguably this was more of a prophecy than a promise, but it was a direct ‘will’ statement, which required the trust of the electorate that it was true given that it ran contrary to the Government’s claims. While National’s level of preparation and eagerness could be debated on a myriad of fronts, there is a general consensus that the FLG did leave a mess behind as National promised they would. Ironically, given that National made this promise, one is led to ask whether they actually believed it themselves as their alibi for not fulfilling some of their own commitments was that Labour had left them with “an economic crisis of worse dimensions than they expected before taking office” (James 1992, p.273). According to Wyatt Creech (Minister of Revenue), “between the [1990] Budget and the election \$921 million for which no provision was made in the main estimates was spent or promised” by the outgoing FLG (NZPD Vol.511 1990, p.224). This was confirmed by Jenny Shipley

(Minister of Social Welfare), who said; “We were \$280 million less well off in the welfare vote alone than David Caygill and Michael Cullen had led us to believe” (pers. com. 31/1/08). As a result, this plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other enterprise pledge related to the NZNPP 1990 and boasted that:

“In the pages that follow you will find the details of key elements in our programme of positive action.” (3)

Out of the following 27 pages, 23 contained ‘key elements’ of National’s programme in the form of specific pledges indicating action in some form or other (NZNPP 1990, pp.4-8, 10 & 12-28). This being the case, the promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the first term’s enterprise commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.2 A Growing Economy

With 22 planks, the economy was one of the two largest policy areas in the NZNPP 1990 and two of these were assessed. The first related to what Ruth Richardson (Opposition Spokesperson on the Economy) referred to as ‘key principles’ and referring to a National Government, claimed that:

“We will act as a catalyst to increased competition.” (4)

Some examples of how the FNG did this in their first term included the removal of “many regulations that stifled competition and innovative responses by business leading to a more competitive cost structure for New Zealand business, for example, [by] liberalising coastal shipping” (Manifesto ’93, p.28). In addition, by the end of 1992, all specific price controls that the FLG had not removed itself out of the 39 product groups that were controlled in 1984, including motor vehicles, fertilisers, butter and soap, were removed by National so that none remained (Dalziel & Lattimore 2001, p.80). Without the artificial inflation or suppression of prices, competition could theoretically occur in the free market environment National facilitated. Consequently, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The other economic promise related to reducing dependency on the welfare system and notwithstanding this, detailed that:

“However, those in need will have our guaranteed support.” (5)

Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Southern Maori) on 28 July 1992 (half-way through the FNG’s first term) said; “Today, Eddie Mollier pointed out that the Wellington soup-kitchen patronage had broken all records when 116 meals were served last night. He pointed out that: ‘Demand now rivals the hard years of the 1930s Depression. The St Joseph’s Relief Centre in Sussex Street fed 116 people last night, eight more than the worst night during the Depression. They included families with young children unable to cope with feeding themselves as well as paying bills from benefits that were cut last year. Benefit cuts and unemployment were the main problems. It means more people are not coping. It is affecting people mentally as well” (NZPD Vol.527 1992, p.10075). Ruth Richardson (Minister of Finance) has defended her actions relative to this promise in the following manner; “But remember, in terms of promise-keeping, it was very, very clear which is why I got so vilified during the campaign, this is not subsequent, during the campaign, was very, very clear that we were going to make major reforms to an industrial relations system that was a hundred years old and to a welfare system that was fifty years old because they weren’t working” (pers. com. 15/2/08). While this may well have been the case, if this reformation failed to support those in need, it failed to fulfil the policy promise. The evidence suggests that National’s 1990-1 package substantially failed those in need. “Almost all social security benefits for adults were cut, usually to well below the RCSS [Royal Commission on Social Security] poverty line. Entitlement conditions were also cut. Not unexpectedly, the benefit cuts caused widespread distress among those who depended upon them, a distress which was compounded by the sharp rise in unemployment that occurred at the time. The proportion below the poverty line rose from 12.9 percent in 1989/90 to 16.3 percent in 1992/3, an increase of over a quarter. The distress was so great that there was a concerted outcry from the general public, led by the churches and community welfare organizations, and backed by survey and anecdotal evidence” (Easton 1997, pp.52-3). Based on this and other similar evidence, the commitment is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only half of the first term’s economic planks are coded as fulfilled representing a 50% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.3 Getting New Zealand Working

With 20 pledges, work was another major policy area and once again, two of these were assessed. The first related to increasing employment and decreasing violent crime and marriage break-ups and established that:

“To achieve these things National will introduce a new Initiative Scheme under which unemployed people will be trained for and supported in their own enterprise.” (6)

There is no mention of any Initiative Scheme in Hansard or Department of Labour reports from 1990-3 or in National’s 1993 Manifesto. It appears that this initiative was one of the 5% of policies that John Luxton (Minister of Housing) suggested the National Government would be unable to deliver on as a result of the FLG’s lack of financial planning (NZPD Vol.527 1992, p.10075). The lack of any evidence that this scheme was introduced sees this promise coded as unfulfilled.

The other work commitment asserted that:

“The unemployment benefit will be only for those who are genuinely seeking work.” (7)

According to Clive Matthewson (Dunedin West), an individual or “either member of a couple has had to get a job or to look for a job. That is what we do to the unemployment benefit” (NZPD Vol.536 1993, p.16289). This requirement to look for a job in order to be eligible for the dole sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, once again, only half of the first term’s work pledges are coded as fulfilled representing a 50% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.4 A Healthier New Zealand

With 13 promises, health was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It boasted that:

“Health care and income maintenance entitlements in respect of sickness and accidents will be brought into line with one another.” (8)

According to Michael Cullen (St Kilda), the National Party newsletter stated that “the promise to bring them into line was a promise to charge equally for both. The promise to bring them into line for income maintenance was dropped along the way” (NZPD Vol.521 1991, p.6466). Given that health care and income maintenance entitlements were not aligned, this commitment is coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.5 Welfare that Works

With 19 planks, welfare was a major policy area and two of these were assessed. The first claimed that:

“National will provide income support and a wide range of social services to allow those in need to live in dignity.” (10)

For a fuller treatment of this policy, see the second economy plank. However, as part of the 1992 Budget debate, Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Southern Maori) asked the Minister of Social Welfare (Jenny Shipley) “how she reconcile[d] the cutting of benefits by as much as 30 percent over the 1991 and 1992 Budgets, with her pre-election promise to provide income support and a wide range of social services to those in need, in order to allow them to live in dignity. It appear[ed] to [her] that there [was] an extraordinary number of families who, because of the cutting of benefits, [were] unable to live in dignity” (NZPD Vol.530 1992, p.11680). Graham Kelly (Porirua) followed with a similar line of questioning as he insisted that “under the Minister’s stewardship a poverty class ha[d] been created in New Zealand, and it [was] getting larger” (ibid). Shipley’s response suggested that the “year’s estimates for expenditure for social welfare, which [were] before the House and represent[ed] a third of Government expenditure, we[re] reasonably meeting the needs of people who ha[d] no income and who require[d] the Government’s support” (ibid, p.11681). In addition, she has stated that “we expanded the Accommodation Supplement and the disability allowance in such a way as to offset benefit reductions and more effectively

target those in real need. We gave a great deal of thought and priority to the dignity of the recipients of necessary support and assistance as we made a series of difficult policy choices” (pers. com. 31/1/08). However, as noted above, given that apolitical measures did record an increase in poverty during the FNG’s first term and that it is reasonable to accept impoverishment as an indicator of indignity, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled.

The other welfare promise detailed that:

“National will provide certainty for those people who are entitled to long-term support, such as those with disabilities.” (10)

While Shipley has stated that the “service provision for people with disabilities during that [1990-3] period increased substantially and became far more responsive to the recipients own needs, the shift from welfare to RHA’s [Regional Health Authorities] did create debate” (pers. com. 31/1/08). This was because the guaranteed subsidies that provided certainty under the Social Security and Disabled Persons Community Welfare Acts were dismantled by National on 1 July 1993 moving disability support provision away from Social Welfare to Health and to be determined not by central government, but by RHA’s. According to Helen Clark (Deputy Leader of the Opposition), this meant that people [had] no certainty of entitlement to a single social security benefit because that [Social Security] Act [was] gone, the regulations [were] gone with it, and people [were] at the mercy of the regional health authority, which decide[d] what it [would] pay for. In respect of the Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act, from 1 July there [was] no certainty of respite care in relation to people who [were] looked after by relatives. There [was] no certainty that people with disabilities [would] get assistance with aids and appliances, no certainty that such people [would] get their walking frames, no certainty of continuing grants for motor vehicles, and no certainty of money for the alteration of homes” (NZPD Vol.534 1993, p.15027). This lack of certainty in disability support sees the commitment coded as unfulfilled. Overall, both of the first term’s welfare planks assessed are coded as unfulfilled representing, once again, a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.6 Income in Retirement

With 11 pledges, retirement income was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It related to the need for clear, sustainable retirement income arrangements to be put in place quickly and established that:

“To this end we will fully inflation-proof National Superannuation by adjusting payments according to the movement in prices recorded by the Consumers Price Index.” (12)

According to Jenny Shipley (Minister of Social Welfare), “the Government save[d] \$25.13 million by not increasing the married rate of national superannuation by the consumer price index for the year April 1992-93” (NZPD Vol.522 1992, p.6483). This failure to fully inflation-proof National Superannuation sees the promise coded as unfulfilled representing for the third consecutive time, a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.7 Restoring Law and Order

Along with the economy, law and order was the other 22-commitment policy area and two of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“National's policy on law and order will provide alternative sentences for young offenders where they will take part in community-based programmes, gaining education, training and self-respect.” (14)

The Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1993 introduced suspended sentences as an alternative for young offenders, but the habilitation centres it also introduced which provided community-based programmes for gaining education, training and self-respect were only able to be used for ex-prison inmates. According to Doug Graham (Minister of Justice), National “set up a number of pilot habilitation centres in places such as Hamilton and Otahuhu and passed amendments to the Criminal Justice Act for these purposes” (pers. com. 24/1/08). Lianne Dalziel (Christchurch East) made the point that “because the habilitation centres [took] place at the end of a sentence

instead of as an alternative sentence”, as recommended by the Roper report, this plank was unfulfilled because young offenders either received an alternative sentence or were imprisoned and took part in the programmes, but not both as suggested in the plank (NZPD Vol.538 1993, p.18147).

The other law and order pledge boasted that:

“We’ll make sure that every New Zealander has a fair chance to live life on the right side of the law; and we will provide real opportunities for the rehabilitation of young offenders.” (14)

As the foregoing illustrates, new opportunities for rehabilitation were enacted as part of the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1993 which, according to Hamish Hancock (Horowhenua), also gave “greater powers and greater means of discipline over a longer period to those people who [were] trying to rehabilitate those convicted offenders” (NZPD Vol.532 1992, p.12872). The new options for rehabilitation introduced by the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1993 see this promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, half of the first term’s law and order commitments are coded as fulfilled representing a 50% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.8 Keeping New Zealand Green

With 19 planks, the green policy was another major area and again two of these were assessed. The first claimed that:

“National will promote a wide-ranging programme of school-based environmental education.” (16)

According to Paul East (Leader of the House), by two-thirds of the way through the FNG’s first term, “substantial progress ha[d] been made to promote a wide-ranging programme of school-based environmental education including the following. The Minister for the Environment [Rob Storey] ha[d]: provided input to internal fora on environmental education; liaised with other Government departments and non-governmental groups working towards an environmental education curriculum for schools; provided an annual environmental prize at each regional school science fair;

provided environmental education materials for distribution to all schools via each edition of the Greenbox; provided the 'Earth Quest' resource kit for all intermediate schools; participated in the grants committee of the ACI New Zealand Glass Manufacturers education fund for environmental studies in schools; provided 29 environmental grants worth more than \$12,000.00 for the promotion of environmental education and related purposes; and promoted the annual World Environment Day, 5 June, including in the programme an award for outstanding school art projects with an environment theme" (NZPD Vol.531 1992, p.12434). These examples of widely promoted school-based environmental education see this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The other green promise detailed that:

"While the new National Government will ensure that our voice is heard internationally, we will be even more concerned with taking positive action at home." (17)

Some of the first term's domestic and international environmental achievements were indeed worthy of note. By November 1993, National had "passed the Resource Management Act into law following a refocus on environmental effects. It [was] based on the principle of sustainable management of our natural resources. [They had] gainfully provided work for over 13,000 unemployed people on programmes to improve the environment through Taskforce Green [and] improved the Ozone Layer Protection Act by setting phase out deadlines for ozone depleting substances, which [were] tighter than existing international requirements [halving them between 1991-3]. [They had also] dramatically increased forest plantings from 15,000 hectares in 1990 to over 61,000 hectares in 1993 [and] introduced consumer labelling of environmental friendly products called 'Environment Choice'. [In addition, they] established the Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority (EECA) which [was] charged with helping New Zealand become more energy efficient, promoting the careful use of the nation's resources, and encouraging appropriate and economic use of renewable energies. [The first term also] improved protection of endangered species by increasing penalties for illegal trade, increasing investment in protection work by 20 per cent [and] trebl[ing] the number of marine reserves to nine. [National] passed legislation: banning driftnet fishing; to allow the introduction of game bird habitat stamps to support an increase in game bird habitat; to give the Historic Places Trust greater independence and more strength and; requiring the sustainable

management of indigenous forests on private land. [They] successfully lobbied internationally for the protection of Antarctica [and] initiated a major reforestation project for the highly erodible and marginal East Cape/Gisborne region. [The first term also] passed the Crown Minerals Act 1991 giving land owners the right of veto on mining applications [and] worked towards the establishment of Hauraki Gulf Marine Park. [Finally, they] introduced amendments to the Conservation Act to improve management of the Crown's estate and introduced legislation to provide for effective management of pollution from oil spills" (Manifesto '93, pp.7-8). While not all environmentalists agreed that all of these actions were the most effective, it is still an impressive list of positive voice and action on domestic and international environmental issues. As a result, this commitment is coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the first term's green planks assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.9 Facing the Future Together

With 21 pledges, facing the future together was code for race relations and formed a major policy area with two of these assessed. The first established that:

"National will regard the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of New Zealand." (18)

When questioned about this in 1992, Doug Kidd (Minister of Maori Affairs) confirmed that "the Government's policy [was] that the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand" (NZPD Vol.523 1992, p.7593). This regard for the Treaty as New Zealand's founding document sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The other race relations commitment asserted that:

"National will assist Te Kohanga Reo movement with their quality controls with more effective monitoring and accountability." (18)

By 1991, "Te Kohanga Reo ha[d] equivalent funding with all other early childhood services and a partnership agreement with the Ministry of Education to ensure accountability" (AJHR 1991 Vol.13 E.1, pp.11-12). This assistance with equivalent

funding to ensure sufficient resource quality and a monitored accountability agreement with the Ministry sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, once again, both of the first term's race relations pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.10 Investing in Achievement

With 12 promises, investing in achievement was code for education and formed a minor policy area, but still two of these were assessed. The first related to the idea that New Zealand's workforce was insufficiently skilled and boasted that:

"The manner in which we will meet this challenge is based on three simple beliefs:" (20)

These beliefs were firstly, that our standard of living was dependent on the level of our population's education. Secondly, that investment in education must result in better resources for students rather than administrators and thirdly, students must acquire tertiary skills that could be used in an environment of enterprise. Lockwood Smith (Minister of Education) has suggested that National did base its education programme on these beliefs and made notable progress in meeting the challenge of up-skilling. Some of the initiatives introduced during the FNG's first term included dropping the compulsory \$1250 tertiary fee to between 5-10% of total tuition or about \$500 and deregulated education provision allowing many more institutions to provide tertiary qualifications. In addition, they moved \$70m from education bureaucracy to resources, introduced a new qualifications framework that made recognition of achievement more universal and instituted Skill New Zealand, which enabled apprentices to achieve qualifications rather than just 'do their time'. "Until 1992, stats were in decline for apprenticeships, but we turned that around. The measures we took meant that we went from near the bottom of the OECD in 1990 to third in 1996 for tertiary education participation" (pers. com. 4/2/08). The application of this philosophy to increase tertiary participation and skill-based education sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The other education plank related to guaranteeing all school leavers access to tertiary education and claimed that:

“In doing so we will not only attack the root cause of so many of New Zealand's social problems, but also take the first steps towards creating the pool of skills required to drive the enterprise society.” (21)

According to Smith, “the old system drafted out non-achievers. The new national qualifications framework picked up 50% failing to 20%. However, it is the bottom quintile that create the biggest problems and it failed to catch these people” (pers. com. 4/2/08). Indeed, out of the 14 violence and sexual offences categories recorded by the police, 11 increased in frequency between 1990-3 indicating an inadequate ‘attack on the root cause of so many of New Zealand’s social problems’ (AJHR 1991 Vol.18 G.6, pp.74-5 & 1993 Vol.32 G.6, p.112). As a result, this pledge is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only half of the first term’s education promises assessed are coded as fulfilled representing a 50% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.11 The Future of Industry

With 17 commitments, industry was a major policy area, but only one of these was assessed. It detailed that:

“National's policy on Trade and Industry will give New Zealanders the chance to negotiate their own pay and conditions, including redundancy.” (22)

On the 7th of May 1991, Parliament enacted the Employment Contracts Act “to enable each employee to negotiate an individual employment contract with his or her employer” including pay, conditions and redundancy (NZS Vol.1 1991, p.187). This being the case, the plank is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.12 Growth from the Land

With 18 pledges, land-based industry was another major policy area and two of these were assessed. The first established that:

“National will make normal farm maintenance costs tax deductible.” (24)

The Income Tax Amendment (No. 3) Act 1991 ensured that “any taxpayer engaged in any farming or agricultural business on any land in New Zealand be entitled to a deduction of the amount of any expenditure incurred by the taxpayer in that year in the destruction of weeds, animal pests or plants detrimental to the land, the clearing, destruction and removal of scrub, stumps and undergrowth, the repair of flood or erosion damage, the planting and maintaining of trees for the purpose of preventing or combating erosion or providing shelter or the construction on the land of fences for agricultural purposes, including the purchase of wire or wire netting for the purpose of making new or existing fences rabbit-proof” (NZS Vol.1 1991, p.453). This deductibility of normal farm maintenance costs sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The other land-based industry commitment asserted that:

“National will allow timber production from indigenous forests only when in accordance with approved plans providing for sustainable yield through recognised management schemes.” (24)

The Forests Amendment Act 1993 allowed the Secretary of Forests to approve sustainable forest management plans and made it possible for a sustainable forest management plan to relate to a specified area or areas of indigenous forest land (NZS Vol.1 1993, p.282). This allowance for indigenous timber production based on sustainable yield management plans sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, both of the first term’s land pledges assessed are coded as fulfilled representing, once again, a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.13 New Choices in Industrial Relations

With 13 promises, industrial relations was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It boasted that:

“National will give industrial agreements the status of binding contracts.”
(26)

As a result of the Employment Contracts Act 1991, according to Bill Birch (Minister of Labour), “industrial agreements [were] given the status of binding contracts” (NZPD Vol.516 1991, p.2945). This being the case, the commitment is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area as well.

7.1.14 The Challenge of Tourism

With only 9 planks, tourism was the smallest policy area in the NZNPP 1990 and one of these was assessed. It related to a proposed restructuring of the New Zealand Tourist Department (NZTD) and claimed that:

“National will ensure that the new body which emerges is dynamic and highly motivated.” (28)

“The New Zealand Tourism Board [was] established [replacing the NZTD and giving] direction to the [tourism] industry through its ‘growth strategy’ and many other programmes. 83 per cent of the growth in visitor numbers [was] attributed to the joint venture marketing of the Tourism Board” (Manifesto ’93, p.31). Consequently, once again, this pledge is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.1.15 First Term Summary

There were 14 sections in National’s 1990 policy document and all of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. Even the smallest policy area (‘The Challenge of Tourism’ with only nine pledges) formed part of the assessment. ‘A Growing Economy’, ‘Restoring Law and Order’ and ‘Facing the Future Together’ were the biggest policy areas with over twenty commitments each.

Out of a total sample of 23 planks, National fulfilled 15. This represents a fulfilment rate of 65%. This is the second lowest achievement rate recorded for the period 1972-93. While it is true that National had to deal with implementing policy using bureaucrats who had operated for two terms under Labour and with a massive budget deficit, it is also fair to say that the policy direction employed by National was not dissimilar to that of the previous administration, but much of this was not

presupposed by their policy document and this impacted on their ability to fulfil what was there. In 1990, National promised New Zealand ‘a decent society’ with the suggestion that the roller coaster of the previous six years would be stopped so that the electorate could get out and allow their stomachs to settle, but this was clearly not what most New Zealanders had experienced and in 1993, National’s vote slumped to exactly that of Labour’s in 1990 (35.1%) reflecting widespread disillusionment with both of the major parties (as this was enough to secure an election victory for National, although only after the counting of specials) and set the stage for the introduction of MMP. However, there were enough voters who saw in National ‘the spirit of recovery’ (Manifesto ’93), that the party vaunted and the electorate desperately needed, to restore some faith in what was perceived to be a broken mandate model and return National to government. The next section of this chapter will indicate to what extent National did facilitate ‘the spirit of recovery’ in relation to the promises it made in its Manifesto ’93.

7.2 SECOND TERM: 1993-6

‘Manifesto ’93: Stepping Out on the Path to 2010 – The Spirit of Recovery’ contained in total, 143 pledges on 36 pages representing an average of almost four promises per page. This indicates a pledge density half that of the 1990 policy document and very similar to the TNG’s third term document. It reflects the fact that much of the information contained in 1993 related to the achievements of the first term rather than promises relative to the second.

7.2.1 Introduction

This policy area introduced Manifesto ’93 and formed a general overview of the ongoing direction the National Government would take. It contained 4 commitments presented by Jim Bolger (Prime Minister), only one of which was assessed. It related to National’s 1993 election programme (Path to 2010) and asserted that:

“The programme is ambitious and there will be some who will criticise that.” (i)

Much like the first term's first commitment, this is more of a prophecy than a promise of action, but once again, it is a direct 'will' statement that is falsifiable, thus meeting the assessment criteria. A number of opposition MP's did criticise 'Path to 2010'. One example of this was provided by Larry Sutherland (Avon) on 5 July 1994 who said; "Tonight the Prime Minister talked so much about 'Path to 2010'. I say 2010 what? 'Path to 2010' cost \$35,000 worth of taxpayer's money, which was used to put the document together. It is a document that does not say anything. It is full of platitudes. It talks about some kind of future, but not the sort of future that gives any hope to people who are in desperate need at the present time" (NZPD Vol.541 1994, p.2593). Another example was provided by Phil Goff (Roskill) eight days later who said; "'Path to 2010' is the document about which the 'Dominion' commented that the back-bench members of the National Government were openly derisive. They were openly derisive. That was not vision. That said nothing about the future, about employment, about improving living standards, or about creating a fair society" (ibid, p.2815). Ironically, one thing it did say about the future, that it would be criticised by some, was accurate. These criticisms of National's 1993 election programme and others like them see the plank coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.2.2 Education

With 16 pledges, education was a minor policy area and once again, only one of these was assessed. It related to the Parents as First Teachers (PAFT) programme and boasted that:

"In total another thousand families will have access to the programme by 1994." (4)

"A lifelong learning society must make the earliest possible start, and [1994] saw eight new programmes of 'Parents as First Teachers', making 12 in all, and the opportunity for 1,500 families [up from 500 the previous year] to start sound educative practice with their infants" (AJHR 1994 Vol.22 E.1, p.8). With 1000 more families being given access to PAFT, this promise is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area as well.

7.2.3 The Environment

With 25 commitments, the environment was a major policy area and three of these were assessed. The first claimed that:

“Policy initiatives will be practical, well planned and based on sound information.” (7)

In 1994, the Ministry for the Environment produced an ‘Environment 2010 Strategy’ which ensured that moving forward, environmental policy initiatives would be practical, well-planned and based on sound information. The first strategic report stated; “Environmental policy will now be developed in the context of this longer-term framework. It will allow the proposed actions and goals to be progressively ‘sharpened’ and quantified so that achievements can be measured. This ‘Environment 2010 Strategy’ will be formally reviewed and updated every four years. The review cycle will be timed to follow the production of the State of the Environment Report. The Strategy, therefore, will build on our continually improving information and awareness of the quality of our environment” (Ministry for the Environment 1994, p.54). As a result, this plank is coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge related to the global environment and detailed that:

“National will keep New Zealand at the forefront of international efforts to protect whales from commercial exploitation and will advocate the establishment of a Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary.” (9)

According to Don McKinnon (Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade), when asked about New Zealand’s efforts to protect whales from Japanese and Norwegian commercial exploitation, “the Government continued to voice its objections to senior members of the Japanese Government and to the Norwegian Government from time to time. Our whaling commissioner, the Hon. Jim McLay, who was in Mexico at the International Whaling Commission meeting, gave that message very strongly. Those nations [we]re in no question about our views” (NZPD Vol.540 1994, pp.1593-4). The Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary (SOWS) was created following international agreement in 1994 (ibid). These international efforts to protect whales and

successfully advocate for the establishment of the SOWS see the promise coded as fulfilled.

The third and final environment commitment related to wastes and pollution and established that:

“National will aim for all inland and coastal waters to be of a quality that is safe for swimming and fishing through effective measures in the National Coastal Policy Statement.” (10)

DOC published a New Zealand Coastal Policy Statement in 1994 that made it clear that unsafe waters were accepted in opposition to this commitment by suggesting that “provision should be made to ensure that the public is adequately warned when the degradation of water in the coastal environment has rendered the water unsafe for swimming, shell-fish gathering or other activities” (DOC 1994, p.15). If the measures aimed at ensuring the quality of all inland and coastal waters were effective, such warnings would not be necessary. As a result, this plank is coded as unfulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the second term’s environment pledges are coded as fulfilled.

7.2.4 Justice and Law and Order

With 14 promises, justice was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It related to crime prevention and with reference to the introduction of home detention and those who would receive it, asserted that:

“They will only be able to leave their homes for certain approved purposes, for example, to work.” (12)

Not until the FNG’s third term with the enactment of the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1999 did this residential condition for home detention become law (NZS Vol.1 1999, p.23). This was three years too late for this commitment to be coded as fulfilled during the relevant term of office. This sees a 0% fulfilment rate recorded for this policy area.

7.2.5 Health and Social Assistance

With 44 planks, health and social assistance was more than double the average policy size and by far the largest policy area. Given the level of concern over neglect in these areas during the FNG's first term, it appears that National wanted to create a feeling in the electorate that these issues were important to them. Five of these planks were assessed and the first boasted that:

“Tremendous changes in age profile, family structure and work habit will occur in New Zealand over the next decade.” (16)

This is another prophetic plank. In 1991, New Zealand's age profile bottle-necked between ages 5-14, but by 2001, this bottle-neck occurred from 20-29. Also, in 1993, two-parent families were the most common family type, but by 2003, these had almost been replaced by couples without children. In addition, by 2003, 3% more of the workforce were part-time employees than was the case in 1993, in 2003 there were almost 12% more employees than in 1993 and over 17% less unpaid house-people (Statistics New Zealand 2004, pp.80, 93 & 260). These statistics do show the tremendous change in age profile, family structure and work habit that occurred over the decade 1993-2003 as predicted by National and see this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The second promise related to Family Service Centres and claimed that:

“Six Family Service Centres will be piloted to provide intensive integrated services for juveniles at risk.” (19)

“Milestones in social service development were achieved with the opening of four of the six new Family Service Centres [in 1995]. Two new Family Service Centres were opened at Cannons Creek and Motueka” in 1996. The purpose of these six centres was to provide intensive integrated services for juveniles at risk and acted as one-stop-shops for families in low-income communities (AJHR 1995 Vol.24 E.12, p.19 & 1996 Vol.27 E.12, p.19). As a result, this commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The third plank related to health and detailed that:

“New ways of integrating primary (GPs) and secondary (hospitals) care will develop.” (20)

The FNG introduced a number of initiatives during their second term to improve service co-ordination and integration between primary and secondary health providers. These included the introduction of disability support service co-ordination providers, a maternity care project, Independent Practitioner Associations (IPAs) and a range of Maori primary care initiatives which built managed care schemes for the people they served through primary and/or secondary providers as needed (Shipley 1995, p.25). The development of these new ways of integrating health care see this pledge coded as fulfilled.

The fourth promise related to Crown Health Enterprises (CHEs) and established that:

“More operations will get done, more people will be treated and the investment in buildings and machinery will be better utilised.” (21)

“The number of operations carried out nation-wide [between] 1990 [and 1996] increased by 51 per cent in four key areas: heart and lung procedures (77%), knee surgery (54%), cataract surgery (31%), and hip surgery (12%)” (NZNP 1996, p.8). This increase in operations during the FNG meant more people were treated and better utilisation was being made of both buildings and machinery. As a result, this commitment is coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final health and social assistance plank related to social assistance and with reference to running the welfare system as effectively as possible, asserted that:

“In particular a National Government will maintain the availability of state housing at current levels.” (22)

According to Murray McCully (Minister of Housing), there was “an 850 net reduction in the number of State houses over the” three years to 12 October 1995 (NZPD Vol.551 1995, p.9712). This diminution of the 1993 level of state housing sees the pledge coded as unfulfilled. Overall, 80% of the second term’s health and social assistance promises are coded as fulfilled.

7.2.6 Maori Development

With 16 commitments, Maori development was a minor policy area and only one of these was assessed. It boasted that:

“In the next term the National Government will focus on continuing to improve the delivery of services by the returning of Maori development programmes to mainstream Government ministries - Housing, Education, Social Welfare, Labour and Employment - and out of the Department of Maori Affairs as part of the Government's philosophy of improving the delivery of services to Maori and delivering equivalent services to Maori and non-Maori.” (25)

By 1996, Maori development programmes were being run through these mainstream Government ministries. For example, “the Ministry [of Housing] continued to examine a range of policy options to help specific groups such as rural Maori” (AJHR 1996 Vol.12 B.12, p.4). “A Maori Education Manager [w]as appointed to lead analytical and research work on Maori education and training” by the Education & Training Support Agency (ibid Vol.35 E.46, p.45). “The development of Iwi Social Services was another significant achievement” by the Department of Social Welfare (ibid Vol.27 E.12, p.3). “The Department [of Labour's] output priorities [were] to build on and modify as appropriate existing programmes to address the needs of people facing barriers to employment such as Maori” (ibid Vol.41 G.1, p.7). These examples of programmes targeting Maori being run through mainstream ministries rather than the Department of Maori Affairs see this plank coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.2.7 Growth and Employment

With 24 pledges, growth and employment was Manifesto '93's economic policy and it was a major policy area. Three of these were assessed and the first claimed that:

“In its second term of office, National will continue to pursue an economic strategy that is sound, clear and consistent.” (34)

According to Bill Birch (Minister of Finance) in 1996, in response to the suggestion that National were mismanaging the economy, he stated that “in 1990, under a Labour Government, the country’s gross domestic product (GDP) was shrinking, not growing. GDP was going down. The rate of unemployment had reached 10 percent and the public debt was almost 50 percent of GDP. By applying a consistent and balanced economic strategy over the [previous] 5½ years, the National Government got unemployment down to nearly 6 percent, and in the [following] year net public debt fell below 30 percent of GDP, as promised. The 1996 Budget [was] about continuing firm, responsible fiscal management [which] is what [was] driving the National Government in office. [Their] policies continue[d] to give New Zealanders stable economic strategy” (NZPD Vol.555 1996, p.12930). It would be unusual for a Minister of Finance to publicly criticise his own Government’s management of the economy, but non-partisan sources also support this analysis. “The major theme of the 1994 Budget was ‘building on the gains made so far’. For the first time since 1978 the adjusted financial balance was in surplus, making it possible to continue paying back overseas public debt without ongoing asset sales and to fund a small number of new initiatives” (Dalziel & Lattimore 2001, pp. 110-11). Between 1993-6, real GDP increased by about \$13 billion, real per capita GDP by about \$3,000 and real economic growth by about 3% (about three times that of Australia over the same period) (ibid p.134). It should also be noted that during the FNG’s second term, it introduced the Fiscal Responsibility Act 1994 which served to make the Government accounts far more transparent than was previously the case, thus preventing the multi-billion dollar non-disclosure issues confronting incoming governments in both 1984 and 1990 from ever ham-stringing party policy implementation again. This evidence of the application of a sound, clear and consistent economic strategy sees this promise coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment detailed that:

“The Government will seek full value from the business enterprises it owns, while aiming to reduce risk to the Crown.” (35)

According to the State-Owned Enterprises Act, which was reprinted in 1995 as a current statute, “the principal objective of every State enterprise [was] to operate as a

successful business and, to this end, to be as profitable and efficient as comparable businesses that are not owned by the Crown” (RS Vol.33, pp.813 & 818). “The empirical evidence suggests that once a government-owned enterprise is required to pursue profits it becomes about as efficient (on a profit maximisation criterion) as the same firm in private ownership” (Easton 1997, p.35). In order to facilitate this, CCMAU (Crown Company Monitoring Advisory Unit) was established by the FNG in 1993, to provide high-quality advice to shareholding Ministers on company performance and to recommend qualified persons to sit on the boards of these companies (Crown Company Monitoring Advisory Unit 2008). This effort to seek full value from State-Owned Enterprises (SOE’s) thus reducing public financial risk sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The third and final growth and employment and second term pledge to be assessed established that:

“National will improve efficiencies in our energy and transport sectors to boost New Zealand's productivity and competitiveness.” (36)

Following on from the previous pledge, efficiency in the energy and transport sectors was improved through the FNG’s corporatisation and privatisation policies although this did not necessarily result in price benefits for New Zealand domestic consumers. In the energy sector, for example, according to Birch in 1995, “in terms of co-generation, dairy companies [were] installing co-generators to improve efficiency in their own plants; New Zealand Steel [was] making a very significant contribution; and the combined-cycle station in south Auckland, the combined-cycle station in Taranaki, co-generation at Kinleith, and, quite remarkably, a new private-sector joint venture just out of Taupo, which [was] producing geothermal energy [also contributed]. Of course, we [had] wind generators, as well” (NZPD Vol.551 1995, pp.9906-7). In the transport sector, there were efficiency gains from the privatisation of New Zealand Rail. One study concluded that they were in the order of \$1 billion to \$10 billion depending on the assumed counterfactual. It noted that most of the benefits accrued to taxpayers (through not having to subsidise rail) and the firm's private owners (Evans et. al., 1999). These improved efficiencies in the energy and transport sectors see this promise coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s growth and employment commitments are coded as fulfilled.

7.2.8 Second Term Summary

There were 7 sections in Manifesto '93 and all of them included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. They ranged in size from 4-44, the average being 20. This represented a much more concise list of policy areas than any manifesto previously published within the research period.

Out of a total sample of 15 promises, National fulfilled 12. This represents a fulfilment rate of 80%. This is substantially higher than the result for the first term and represents the biggest implementation improvement between terms so far (15% increase). It suggests that National's second term achieved a more acceptable level of policy implementation from a domestic and international perspective, with most other New Zealand government terms and most other majoritarian systems normally recording 70-80% fulfilment rates. This result probably occurred as National went into damage control resulting from a backlash to some of the more austere measures they had been responsible for and which much of New Zealand was opposed to. What makes this achievement most impressive is the fact that for most of the FNG's second term, it was unable to govern alone. From the outset it had to appoint a Labour speaker in order to hold a majority and from September 1994, found itself in different forms of minority government to majority coalition as various MPs defected to form or join new parties in the lead-up to 1996. This created the backdrop against which New Zealand's first proportional representation election was held as National presented a policy document to the electorate entitled 'The Plan for Progress – The Best is Yet to Come'.

7.2.9 Fourth National Government: FPP Summary

Out of a total sample of 38 promises, National fulfilled 27. This represents a fulfilment rate of 71%. This makes the overall result for the first two terms of the fourth National Government under the old FPP system very similar (1% lower) to the second term of the previous Labour Government and within the margin of error (5%). It also makes it very similar to policy implementation levels in the US around the same period (Democratic Government 1992 – 68%, Royed 2007). In reality, National only had an FPP style 'elective dictatorship' for the first four years of this six-year period. Ironically, however, the forced minority and coalition statuses that occurred in

the build-up to the 1996 election seemed to ensure a much better level of fulfilment than when National governed alone. Notwithstanding this, the share of the vote for the two main parties dropped from about 70% to approximately 62% as party representation in Parliament increased by 50% from the previous election (but dropped by one from the seven parties in Parliament by the end of the 1993-6 term). National still managed to get the largest share of representation with almost 34% of the vote, marginally less than the previous election and their success was largely attributable to New Zealand's unwillingness to forgive Labour for the 1980s and a new environment in which voting for smaller parties became a much more justifiable option for voters than ever before. After almost two months of negotiations, "orchestrated in an atmosphere of guarded optimism tinged with mutual distrust", National signed a detailed coalition agreement (1996 CA) with NZF creating a majority coalition government by two seats (Miller 1998, p.120). This meant that National's plan for progress was immediately compromised as policy trade-offs inevitably ensued. The next section of this chapter will indicate the extent to which the best was yet to come as the set of promises made to the New Zealand electorate in 1996 by a National Party embarking on its third term in office grappled with ongoing coalition constraints.

7.3 THIRD TERM: 1996-9

The Plan for Progress (TPFP) contained in total, 79 pledges on 19 pages representing an average of just over four promises per page. This indicates a pledge density very similar to that of the previous term, but the policy document itself contained fewer promises than any other document assessed. With just over half the pages and commitments of the previous manifesto, it was very lean on detailed planks, the bulk of the document being utilised to either philosophise or boast of work already accomplished. Because of the small size of each of the policy areas, only one pledge was used from each section assessed.

7.3.1 Message from the Prime Minister

This introduction by Jim Bolger contained 5 commitments and was entitled ‘A Future Built on Values’. The first of these was assessed and with reference to 1996, asserted that:

“This October will mark six years of National government.” (1)

Much like the first and second term’s first commitments, this is more of a prophecy than a promise of action, but once again, it is a direct ‘will’ statement that is falsifiable, thus meeting the assessment criteria. Given that by the time this was written, National had only 41 of 99 seats in Parliament as a result of nine defections from September 1994 to April 1996, their ability to continue to lead an FPP government until the election in November 1996 is quite an achievement (Vowles et. al. 1998, p.14) and sees the plank coded as fulfilled (plus one month), representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.2 Economy

With 15 pledges, the economy was the largest policy area in TPFPP and relative to protecting the environment, boasted that:

“National is committed already to a Green Package which will boost spending on the environment, including endangered species, by \$110 million over the next three years, including \$68.4 million more for the Department of Conservation.” (3)

The environment was not a featured policy area in the 1996 CA and perhaps this is why DOC’s vote increased by less than half the pledged amount between 1996-9 from 151,588,000 to 181,945,000 (AJHR 1996 Vol.19 C.13, p.61 & NZPP 1999 Vol.9 C.13, p.97). Overall spending on the environment is difficult to assess as many measures can be labelled ‘Green’ and included in the figures. Nevertheless, the substantially diminished funding for DOC from that pledged is enough to see this promise coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.3 Employment

With 7 commitments, employment was an average-sized policy area and relative to Maori employment, claimed that:

“The effectiveness of the Maori Women's Development Fund has been reviewed and, due to its success, will be funded to become self-sufficient in the future.” (5)

The “funding of Maori Women’s Development Fund [was] assured for continuation” in the 1996 CA (p.61) with no view to it becoming self-sufficient. This was a softening of the National policy and sees the plank coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area also.

7.3.4 Education

With 13 pledges, education was a major policy area and relative to Te Whariki early childhood curriculum, detailed that:

“National will provide training for teachers in this curriculum.” (6)

By the end of the FNG’s third term, Colleges of Education were offering early childhood curriculum studies with “courses within this strand aim[ing] to provide [training teachers] with an understanding of children’s development and an ability to implement the principles, strands and goals of the early childhood curriculum, Te Whariki” (Wellington College of Education 2000, p.3). This training for early childhood teachers in the National Early Childhood Education Curriculum, Te Whariki, sees the promise coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.5 Health

With 6 commitments, health was a minor policy area and relative to the ageing population, established that:

“The health needs of our older people will take an increasing proportion of the Health vote in future years.” (8)

Despite the fact that more affordable health care for the elderly was a feature in the 1996 CA, in most cases the percentage of health spending in the area of age related support by the RHA's declined between 1996-9. For example, for North Health this was 44.2% in 1996, but 43% in 1997; Central remained the same; Midland decreased from 53% to 50% and Southern from 60% to 59% (AJHR 1996 Vol.36 E.51, p.10; 1997 Vol.36 E.51, p.8; E.52, p.88; E.53, p.52 & E.54, p.25). These decreases in the proportion of spending on older people see this plank coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.6 Social Welfare

With 9 pledges, social welfare was a major policy area and relative to strengthening families, asserted that:

“The Tax and Social Policy programme will provide a fairer deal for working families.” (13)

According to Jenny Shipley (Prime Minister), her “Government substantially reduced tax rates and increased net incomes for low and middle income working families. A truck-driver earning \$30,000 with two children [was] \$100 better off [in 1999] than he was [in 1996]” (NZPD Vol.580 1999, pp.18935-6). This was due to middle and lower income tax cuts in 1998 so that income below \$38,000 per annum was taxed at 19.5%. This contributed to an increase in real wages between 1996-9 as the “tax cuts boosted the disposable income of New Zealanders. The government also introduced a small Independent Family Tax Credit, available only to families not receiving income support from a social security or accident compensation source” (Dalziel & Lattimore 2001, p.68). The evidence indicates that these tax and social policy measures did increase the real income of working families and sees the promise coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.7 Housing

With 5 commitments, housing was a minor policy area and relative to 1996 community housing numbers, boasted that:

“Next year it will provide approximately another 250 houses.” (14)

Housing was not a feature of the 1996 CA. According to Roger Sowry (Minister responsible for Housing Corporation of New Zealand), Community Housing Limited added only 58 more houses to its stock over the 1996-7 year (Hansard 8 Oct 1999, Q.8027). This is clearly well short of that which was committed and sees the plank coded as unfulfilled representing a 0% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.8 Environment

With 4 pledges, the environment was another minor policy area and relative to the collection of environmental indicator information, claimed that:

“This will provide better and more reliable environmental information to measure the progress towards meeting our environmental goals.” (18)

By 1999, “the Environmental Performance Indicators Programme [was] developing indicators to measure and report on how well New Zealand [was] looking after its environment. [The Ministry for the Environment] worked with a wide range of different people and organisations to develop and confirm indicators for reporting on the state of our environment. [They] piloted and initiated implementation of indicators for air, fresh water, land, ozone and climate change. Indicators for the marine environment and biodiversity, and for waste, hazardous waste, contaminated sites and some toxic contaminants ha[d] been confirmed. A discussion document and three case studies [were] helping to explore Maori input into the programme [and they had] developed draft indicators for transport, and proposed a way forward with indicators of urban amenity values. [They were] also working on a system for future state of the environment reporting in New Zealand” (AJHR 1999 Vol.19 C.11, p.3). This

provision of better and more reliable environmental information sees the promise coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

7.3.9 Third Term Summary

There were 12 sections in The Plan For Progress (1996) and 8 of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. The four policy areas omitted were 'Personal Security', 'Agriculture', 'Maori' and 'International Relations'. These areas contained between one and eight promises each and the representative selection process did not allow for their inclusion because the promises they contained were not the next tenth promise in order.

Out of a total sample of 8 promises, National fulfilled 4. This represents a fulfilment rate of only 50%. This is substantially lower than even the previous low for the first term of the FLG of 62% and statistically significant. It suggests that National's third term achieved a low average level of policy implementation from an international perspective, with other PR systems normally recording 45-65% fulfilment rates for the main coalition party. This result probably occurred as NZF initially pulled National back off a number of its more right-leaning policies towards the centre through the Coalition Agreement. This meant that National's spending priorities were immediately modified. The planned tax reductions (while some were still introduced), were not nearly as far reaching as National had planned due to the fiscal demands placed on the Government through the ACC, health, Maori, senior citizens, social welfare and women's issues policies negotiated into the 1996 CA by NZF. This postponed the second round of tax cuts until July 1998 in order to allow the government to increase its spending by \$5 billion over the three years of its term. However, notwithstanding these concessions, within two years the coalition was showing major fractures. Several NZF MPs had gone into politics specifically to combat some of National's early 1990s policies, and were unhappy at being made to perpetuate them. Neil Kirton (Associate Minister of Health), was particularly unhappy, and was fired from his position in 1997. He then led a campaign within NZF to cancel the coalition and seek an arrangement with Labour. By 1998, Winston Peters (Leader of NZF) had become aware that the coalition had lost his party so much support that it might not be returned to parliament in the following year's election. National's replacement of Prime Minister Jim Bolger (with whom Peters had

a good working relationship), with Jenny Shipley, increased the stresses on the coalition. In August 1998, Peters was fired from Cabinet after a dispute over the privatisation of Wellington International Airport. He cancelled the coalition shortly afterwards. However several NZF MPs, including most of the Ministers, opted to leave the party and continue to support National. They and a renegade Alliance MP, Alamein Kopu, formed a new coalition that allowed National to retain power until the 1999 election. As if this was not enough, towards the end of the FNG's third term, there was a slowdown in economic activity due to a serious drought in several parts of the country and the effect of the 'Asian economic crisis' on New Zealand's export earnings. The combination of all of these circumstances created serious complications and meant that National was required to make numerous concessions that impacted on their ability to fully implement their election programme.

7.4 FOURTH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SUMMARY

Out of a total sample of 46 promises, National fulfilled 31. This represents a fulfilment rate of 67%. This makes the overall result for the fourth National Government very similar (1% higher) to that of the previous Labour Government and within the margin of error (5%). It also makes it very similar to policy implementation levels in the US around the same period (Democratic Government 1996 – 67%, Royed 2007). Notwithstanding this, it has been suggested by at least one of the Government's senior ministers that more could have been done had the previous government made more prudent financial decisions. For example, relative to unpopular reforms made due to the fiscal crisis of 1990 (such as labour relations and social welfare changes), Ruth Richardson (Minister of Finance) has said: "On day one, the circumstances in which I and the Bolger Government took over were bloody lousy, but you don't just apply a patch to day one. I had to make the judgment at the time that within six weeks a liberated labour market was going to unleash jobs and growth, but that was what I got a lot of stick for at the time, but in fact, in retrospect that was true. The other, of course, is the counterfactual, which is, had those steps not been taken to correct the fiscal position which became an overwhelming imperative, even without the undisclosed BNZ, you know Caygill was saying that the accounts were in surplus and there was a 5.2 billion dollar deficit, what would the result have been three, six, nine years down the track" (pers. com. 15/2/08). Nevertheless, the

FNG improved its policy implementation performance until the advent of MMP. This supports the hypothesis that it becomes easier to fulfil promises, the longer a party is in government under an FPP system where the major party has a greater degree of control over the means of fulfilment and can make promises with more accuracy and certainty when an incumbent, but that this no longer holds true in a PR environment where the rules of the game change significantly. In the new game, it is unclear before an election who a party will need to coalesce with and therefore, how much of its policy programme will need to be traded. This was certainly the case for the FNG as it embarked on its third term.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FIFTH LABOUR GOVERNMENT 1999-2005

As the fifth government to be analysed in this study, the Fifth Labour Government (5LG) won more seats than any other party had managed in New Zealand's first MMP election, but like National previously, not enough to govern alone. A weaker showing for the minor parties meant that if Labour were to have a majority coalition, it would need two partners. Before the 1999 election, Labour had made formal arrangements with the left-wing Alliance Party to work together to form a government after the election. However, the election left the coalition two seats short of a parliamentary majority. This required an agreement on confidence and supply with the Greens. This three-way arrangement saw the commencement of a government that began to move away from "narrow and prescriptive analysis, to a more reflective and open-minded perspective that acknowledges the wider significance of social factors" (Gamlin 2000, p.18). Over three subsequent terms, Labour has continued to manage minority coalitions and survived the split of a coalition partner and internal defections. Shortly after being elected, Michael Bassett (Minister in the FLG) asked; "Can Helen Clark's fifth Labour Government do what Walter Nash, Norman Kirk and Bill Rowling were unable to do: win a second term, and become the dominant party of government? It's not impossible, although Labour parties in the past have been more venturesome, and quickly lost the middle ground. Caution lay at the heart of National's long hold on office. New Zealand, it must be remembered, is a very conservative country which only occasionally tolerates radical change, and then only in short bursts. Labour's challenge is to adapt, or to prove this wrong." (Bassett 1999). Labour has managed to avoid radical change and thus secure not only a second, but a third term, employing centrist policies referred to as the 'third way'. Labour approached each election with a widely distributed 'Key Policies' document, combined with seven-commitment pledge cards. The two assessed (1999 & 2002), contained more commitments than all of the previous three National manifestos combined. Following the pattern established by all previous governments, the 1999 version contained many more planks (262) than the 2002 version. Overall, there were 482 pledges made in the two major election policy documents of 1999 and

2002. This chapter will present an assessment of a representative sample of 10% of those commitments, 49 in all.

8.1 FIRST TERM: 1999-2002

The 1999 Key Policies document (KP 1999) was subtitled; ‘The Future is with Labour’ and contained in total, 372 pledges on 17 pages, representing an average of almost 22 promises per page. This indicates a density that was very similar to that of National’s 1978 GEP.

8.1.1 Introduction

Helen Clark (Leader of the Opposition) introduced KP 1999 with a preface entitled ‘New Century, Fresh Start’ that included three commitments. Only one of these was assessed and with reference to the clear plan of action Labour outlined in KP 1999, it asserted that:

“It will enable New Zealand to develop as a knowledge-based, high skills, high income, and fully employed nation, underpinned by an active government committed to reducing inequalities and to building strong public services in health, education, and other areas.” (i)

During the 5LG’s first term, the unemployment rate dropped from 6.8% in 1999 to 5.2% in 2002 (Statistics New Zealand 2004, p.263). Over the subsequent two terms, this trend has continued with the rate halving between 1999 and 2007 from 6.8% to 3.4%. However, this has begun to increase again to 3.8% in 2008 even though New Zealand has consistently retained the lowest unemployment rates in the OECD since 2005 (ibid 2008). While this represents a trend in the right direction, it does not make New Zealand a ‘fully employed nation’ and sees the commitment coded as unfulfilled irrespective of the other aspects of the plank, resulting in a 0% fulfilment rate for this section.

8.1.2 Jobs and Economic

With 146 pledges, jobs and economic was by far the biggest policy area in KP 1999. It was important for Labour to take the middle ground off National by showing socio-economic responsibility and dispel the memory of the 1980s while capitalising on the recent economic and political crises the incumbent Government had faced. Fourteen of these pledges were assessed and the first related to enterprise financing and boasted that:

“Labour will also seek foreign direct investment that specifically creates new greenfield enterprises, or expands existing enterprises.” (1)

According to Paul Swain (Minister of Commerce), Labour introduced a venture capital fund that incorporated a “strategy for foreign direct investment” (NZPD Vol.598 2002, p.14259). This attracted funding from global sources specifically for new and expanding enterprises in biotechnology, creative industries and information and communication technologies. As a result, this promise is coded as fulfilled.

The second commitment related to local economic development and claimed that:

“Labour's new Local Economic Assistance Fund (LEAF) programme will fund identified and specific initiatives to secure new investment.” (1)

According to Emilia Mazur (Communications Advisor – Ministry of Economic Development), “it appears that LEAF was what the Labour Party promised in their manifesto[, but] once in government, the programme that was developed to fulfil that promise was called the Regional Partnerships Programme [RPP]” (pers. com. 27/11/07). “The RPP recognises 26 regions covering the country and provides funding and guidance to assist each region identify and develop a sustainable regional economic growth strategy. This includes up to \$100,000 for strategic planning, up to \$100,000 per year for capability building, and up to \$2 million for a major regional initiative (MRI). An MRI is a large-scale project that can build on a comparative advantage identified for the region, with an emphasis on promoting key enablers for regional growth. Examples include the Waikato Innovation Park in Hamilton, the National Centre of Excellence in Wood Processing Education and Training in

Rotorua, and the Wine Research Centre of Excellence in Marlborough” (Dalziel & Saunders 2003, p.1). The replacement of the LEAF programme with the RPP to provide funding for investment-securing initiatives in the regions sees this plank coded as fulfilled.

The third pledge related to skills development and detailed that:

“Labour will ensure that no young person leaves school to go on the dole.”
(2)

During the 5LG’s first term, young people were still leaving school and going on the dole. In fact, “unemployment was highest among younger age groups in 2001. The rate of unemployment for 15 to 19-year olds was nearly three times as high as the overall rate of unemployment” (Statistics NZ 2002, p.330). As a result, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to research, science and technology and established that:

“Labour will stop the erosion of public science funding and allow CRIs to reinvest all their profits from research and development.” (2)

“Expenditure on R&D [Research and Development] carried out by the government sector in New Zealand in the 2002 reference year totalled \$456.4 million, up 16 percent on the \$393.0 million spent in 2000. Crown research institutes [CRIs] continued to be the largest spenders on R&D in the government sector, accounting for 88 percent of government R&D activity in the 2002 reference year” (Ministry of Research, Science and Technology 2003, p.25). In addition, the amount of funding that was reinvested by CRIs from self-generated funds increased from 3.9% in 2000 to 6.9% in 2002 (ibid, p.31). This increase in public science funding and additional use by CRIs of their own profits sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The next two pledges related to small business and the first of these asserted that:

“Labour will establish an Office of Small Business as a strong voice in government.” (3)

According to Pete Hodgson (Minister for Small Business), “there is no Ministry of Small Business. The Ministry of Economic Development covers small business issues amongst its other responsibilities” (Hansard 21 Mar 2002, Q.3123). A search of both Hansards and the AJHRs reveals no reference to an ‘Office of Small Business’. However, in 2003, during the 5LG’s second term, a Small Business Advisory Group was formed “to give SMEs [small/medium enterprises] a greater "voice" in policy development and advise Ministers of issues facing SMEs” (Ministry of Economic Development 2008a). While this term of reference resonated with Labour’s 1999 policy, it was not an ‘Office’ and it was not established during the 5LG’s first term as pledged. As a result, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The other small business commitment boasted that:

“Labour will promote small business incubators to allow small businesses operating in similar industries or providing complementary products or services to share some of their costs or pool equipment and information.” (3)

On 24 May 2001, “the Government's support programme for business incubators [was] boosted by more than \$1 million a year. Hodgson, who launched the programme [the previous month], said its funding was increasing from \$0.6 million to \$1.8 million a year. Incubators typically provide work space and support services for entrepreneurs and new businesses at the start-up and early stages of development. Examples include UNITEC's Centre for Innovation and Entrepreneurship, Massey University's Albany campus incubator, Victoria University's Innovation Greenhouse, the Canterbury Innovation Incubator and Otago University's Innovation Centre. The Incubator Support Programme, delivered through Industry New Zealand, comprises a management support service and annual cash awards for incubators adopting best practice programmes and processes. Budget funding raise[d] the 2000/2001 awards pool by \$400,000 to \$950,000 and increase[d] the total funding from 2001/2002 onward by \$1.2 million to \$1.8 million. From 2001/2002 the awards total \$1.5 million, with the remaining \$350,000 covering administration and a national Incubator Network service” (Ministry of Economic Development 2008b). This promotion of small business incubators sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The seventh pledge related to trade and claimed that:

“Labour will freeze remaining tariffs at year 2000 levels for at least five years, or until key trading partners match those levels.” (3)

“A decision to remove remaining tariffs on imports from ‘least developed countries’ (the world’s 48 poorest nations) took effect in July 2001” (Statistics NZ 2004, p.370). While this gesture is commendable, it undermined the across-the-board tariff-freeze pledged by allowing privileged status to imports from certain countries whose imports received zero tariffs from mid-2001. This meant that products such as Fijian corned beef could pose a more serious threat to the local product on the domestic market. As a result, the promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The eighth commitment related to producer boards and with reference to a Labour Government, detailed that:

“We will rebuild the effective partnership with producer boards which have a vital role in maintaining and enhancing trade access.” (4)

This commitment was made in response to events which occurred in 1999, just months before the election, when National passed legislation stripping the Dairy, Kiwifruit and Apple and Pear Boards of their governing legislation (but allowing them to retain their single-desk selling function). National planned to corporatise the latter two; the dairy industry planned a mega co-op incorporating most of the nine processing companies and the Dairy Board (Horton, 2000). During the 5LG’s first term, the producer boards were substantially changed and now only cover activities such as research and development and information transfer. Smaller producer boards for apples and kiwifruit, berries and even eggs, hops and pork have been disbanded and their assets and functions corporatised, usually with the majority of shares held by farmers and orchardists. The biggest and most important deregulation occurred during 2001, when the single-desk export marketing powers of the New Zealand Dairy Board were revoked and it was merged with the two biggest dairy processing co-operatives to form Fonterra Cooperative Group, the fourth-largest dairy company in the world. Now all primary produce marketing activities are carried out by grower-owned or publicly-owned companies or co-operatives, with no Government support and limited in-market assistance (Agritech 2008). According to Jim Sutton (Minister of Agriculture), “this deregulation was consistent with the Government’s principles governing producer board reform” (Hansard 22 Nov 2002, Q.13543). If this is true,

such a reform programme was not prescribed in KP 1999, nor does it reflect a commitment to rebuild an effective partnership between the Government and producer boards. As a result, this plank is coded as unfulfilled.

The ninth pledge related to risks and opportunities and established that:

“Government departments will be encouraged to decentralise their operations to create job opportunities in the regions.” (4)

This plan appears to have been followed as a number of government departments decentralised some functions and opened offices in the regions. For example, six new Ministry of Education operations (Group Special Education offices in Manukau, Gisborne, Tauranga, Hastings, New Plymouth and Palmerston North) and two new Ministry of Health operations (Locality Office in Hamilton and HealthPAC office in Wanganui) were opened between 1999 and 2002 (PP 2002 Vol.9 E.1, pp.197-9 & Vol.10 E.10, pp.248-9). This decentralisation and regional office establishment see the promise coded as fulfilled.

The tenth commitment related to infrastructure and asserted that:

“Labour will consider introducing utilities legislation to ensure security of supply, quality of supply, and fair and reasonable prices for supply.” (5)

According to Swain, by the end of 1999, the 5LG were “moving swiftly to set up inquiries into the telecommunications and electricity industries.” It was expected that these inquiries would “provide valuable information which [would] allow the Government to assess whether and if so how the regulatory framework for network industries need[ed] to be amended” (Hansard 21 Dec 1999, Q.212). A Government Policy Statement on Electricity (GPS) followed in December 2000 that required an industry Electricity Governance Board (EGB) to make specific improvements to the efficiency and fairness of the market. The Electricity Amendment Act (passed in 2001) enabled the government to regulate and set up a Government EGB if the industry EGB failed to deliver (Ministry of Economic Development 2008c). While electricity supply issues have arisen during dry years and there are ongoing public concerns over pricing, the foregoing evidence indicates that Labour did give consideration to the regulation of utility supply and pricing and acted accordingly. As a result, this plank is coded as fulfilled.

The eleventh pledge related to revenue and boasted that:

“Labour will improve IRD's services by reestablishing face to face personal customer service.” (5)

“In conjunction with tax simplification initiatives, the [Inland Revenue] department made significant changes to its service delivery structure and mechanisms during 1999/00. The key changes included moving from a reactive counter service to a personal appointment management system” (PP 2000 Vol.7 B.23, p.29). This shift towards a more personal customer service system sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The twelfth commitment related to savings and investment and with reference to including savings as a key term of reference in a review of the taxation system, claimed that:

“Labour will also enter into discussion with the savings industry and other stakeholders as to the best non-distortionary means of improving private savings.” (6)

According to Michael Cullen (Minister of Finance), “the Government has a number of forums that directly address private sector saving (such as the tax system review and further work on superannuation) and are committed to continued discussion on the best non-distortionary means of increasing private saving” (Hansard 10 Mar 2000, Q.4117). This has led to involvement in the Saving New Zealand project and Kiwisaver in association with a wide range of institutions in the savings industry. These discussions and the development of non-distortionary means to improve private savings see this plank coded as fulfilled.

The thirteenth pledge related to industrial relations and detailed that:

“Labour will replace the Employment Contracts Act with a new law which ensures union membership is voluntary.” (6)

While the Employment Contracts Act 1991 (ECA) already ensured voluntary unionism, there was concern that Labour’s pledged modifications to employment law would re-introduce compulsory unionism and thus the party sought to allay such fears, particularly within the business sector. The 5LG enacted the Employment

Relations Act 2000 (ERA), which ensured the voluntary membership of unions and repealed the ECA (NZS Vol. 2000, pp.399-400&576). This sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The fourteenth and final jobs and economic commitment related to ACC (Accident Compensation Corporation) and established that:

“Labour will restore a public comprehensive accident compensation scheme.”

(6)

The previous National-led Government’s 1998 Accident Insurance Act repealed the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act 1992 and opened the competitive market for workplace injuries. Under the Act, ACC was excluded from providing the workplace accident insurance market. The 5LG subsequently restored a public comprehensive accident compensation scheme under the Accident Insurance Amendment Act and Accident Insurance (Transitional Provisions) Act passed in April 2000 ensuring that the provision of workplace accident insurance returned to ACC. From 1 July 2000 ACC was again the sole provider of accident insurance for all work and non-work injuries for all New Zealanders. Private insurers could not provide insurance to employers after 30 June 2000 (Accident Compensation Corporation 2008). As a result, this plank is coded as fulfilled. Overall, five-sevenths of the first term’s jobs and economic pledges are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.3 Health

With 47 promises, health was another major policy area and five of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“Communities will again elect their representatives to district health boards.”

(7)

In Key Policies 2002 (KP 2002), Labour confirmed that during their first term, they had “restored local democracy to health decision-making through elected District Health Boards [DHBs]” (p.8). There were 21 of these re-established in 2001 when the first elections for the new DHBs were held. They had been disestablished under the

previous National Government in favour of an appointed Health Funding Authority. The restoration of elected DHBs sees this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to child and youth services and boasted that:

“Labour will fund Plunket Line for a 24 hour, 7 day a week, telephone help and information service.” (7)

Plunket Line began offering a 24-hour service in October 1994, but due to a withdrawal of Government support during the third term of the previous National-led Government, it was forced to close in February 1999. In May 2000, under the subsequent Labour-led Government, this was reinstated. In March of the same year, Annette King (Minister of Health) stated; “Sixty thousand New Zealanders signed a petition asking for the restoration of Plunket Line. This Government has committed itself to a 24-hour-a-day Plunket Line. That has happened under this Government” (NZPD Vol.582 2000, p.1477). However, during the 5LG’s third term, as with National, funding was once again cut for the 24-hour service. Even so, given that the plank relates to the 1999-2002 period and that during the 5LG’s first term the service was restored, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third promise related to meeting women’s health needs and claimed that:

“Labour will keep maternity services free.” (8)

In the late 1990s, there was some suggestion of introducing a partial user-pays system to maternity services. However, as early as December 1999, even before the restructuring of health management from a centralised Health Funding Authority to decentralised DHBs, the 5LG indicated its commitment to the principle of free maternity services. According to King, “the Government currently provides access for all women to free maternity care and the Health Funding Authority is responsible for ensuring this continues” (Hansard 22 Dec 1999, Q.585). The 5LG has continued to provide free maternity services for New Zealand women seeing this commitment coded as fulfilled.

The fourth plank related to general practitioners and detailed that:

“Labour will fund training for GPs in diagnosing and treating mental health disorders and/or substance abuse.” (8)

According to King, “the Government funds general practitioner (GP) training in various ways. Before graduating as doctors, medical students receive government subsidised medical education that includes significant levels of training both in psychiatry and primary care. The Government funds the GP Vocational Training Programme for qualified doctors preparing for a career as a GP. This programme includes practical as well as academic training on knowledge, skills, and attitudes covering all aspects of mental health in primary care including alcoholism and substance abuse in adolescents and adults” (Hansard 22 Dec 1999, Q.589). This GP training for the treatment of mental health disorders and substance abuse sees the pledge coded as fulfilled.

The fifth and final health promise related to a reorganisation of the management of the health system in New Zealand and established that:

“We will bring back accountability.” (8)

With National’s restructuring of health, firstly to appointed Regional Health Authorities and then to a Health Funding Authority, there was some concern that the ability of the public to influence health decision-making at a local level had been lost. Labour’s reintroduction of the DHB’s meant that public accountability was a much more proximate consideration for health officials. At the time, King said that “the district health board Crown entities are a new direction. There is a new start and they are slowly working through the issues. More and more they will build up their confidence and ability to provide to New Zealanders the openness and accountability that Crown entities of the type established by Labour ought to have. I am pleased that they are no longer private companies, but are Crown entities. I am pleased that there will be public elections to those Crown entities in a few months’ time. The people will be represented by board members who are accountable at a local level. The public will be able to ring those people to tell them if they do not like what has happened. The board members will be able to answer queries from the locals. They will not be the faceless company directors of the past, many of whom were old Tory Hacks. Nowadays the board members will be elected from within the communities, although some are appointed. In terms of my appointments, I am pleased to say that I have been able to appoint people of quality, whether they belong to National, Labour, ACT, New Zealand First, or any other political party” (NZPD Vol.593 2001, p.9849).

This move towards a more accountable system of health management sees the commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the first term's health planks assessed are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.4 Education

With 59 pledges, education was the second largest policy area in KP 1999 and six of these were assessed. The first related to early childhood education (ECE) and asserted that:

“Labour will address barriers to learning caused by poverty, substandard housing, and poor health.” (9)

According to Trevor Mallard (Minister of Education), “in March 2002, the Government introduced Equity Funding, which provides additional funding to community-based ECE services most in need. Services receiving Equity Funding can use this money to reduce barriers to participation faced by families in their communities” (Hansard 11 Sep 2002, Q.8973). This could involve the subsidisation of fees for children from impoverished families so that the costs of ECE are more affordable and allow a parent who otherwise could not, to work and supplement the family income and in this way improve their housing and health options. As a result, this promise is coded as fulfilled.

The next two commitments related to school and the first of these boasted that:

“Labour will keep parents informed about progress.” (9)

“Schools are expected to report to parents on the progress of their students. Usually, schools provide written reports and parents can also meet teachers to talk about their children. Parents are entitled to ask for meetings with their child's teachers” (Statistics NZ 2002, p.218). This ongoing process of providing parents with progressive information sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The other school pledge claimed that:

“Labour will improve participation and achievement rates of Māori.” (9)

Between 2000 and 2002, the participation rates of Maori in Year 13 increased by 1% in comparison to Pakeha. However, achievement rates by comparison remained the same over the period of the 5LG's first term (Statistics NZ 2002, p.222 & 2004, pp.171-2). Given that Labour pledged to improve both participation and achievement, but only succeeded in accomplishing the former, this promise is coded as unfulfilled.

The fourth commitment related to tertiary education and with reference to proposed modifications to the tertiary student loan scheme, detailed that:

“Labour's fairer loans scheme will have no interest on loans for full time and other low income students while they study.” (10)

By 2002, no full-time student and no part-timer on a low income (less than about \$27,000) was paying interest on their loan while they were studying” (KP 2002, p.10). This removal of interest on loans for current students sees the plank coded as fulfilled.

The fifth pledge related to support for research and established that:

“Labour will increase research funding.” (10)

“Expenditure on R&D carried out by the government sector in New Zealand in the 2002 reference year totalled \$456.4 million, up 16 percent on the \$393.0 million spent in 2000” (Ministry of Research, Science and Technology 2003, p.25). With inflation running at less than 3% for each of those years, this contribution far outstrips the rate of inflation for this period seeing the promise coded as fulfilled.

The sixth and final education commitment related to industry training and asserted that:

“Labour will develop a comprehensive strategy for training and employment, linked to Labour's industry development policies to promote growth and jobs.” (10)

Some of the major areas of activity in 2001-2 for the Department of Labour included contributing to an Industry Training review led by the Ministry of Education and Skills New Zealand to implement this Industry Training Strategy. The Department worked to achieve a more integrated approach in this area through an Employment

Strategy that was approved by the Government in 2000. The Employment Strategy has provided the framework within which many of the job growth and creation initiatives have been developed (PP 2002 Vol.15 G.1, pp.17&178). The development of these training and employment strategies sees the plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, five-sixths of the first term's education pledges are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.5 Security

With 33 promises, security (social) was a minor policy area and three of these were assessed. The first related to housing and boasted that:

“Labour will support the provision of quality affordable community housing, including emergency housing and housing for youth at risk.” (11)

In August 2000, the 5LG introduced the Housing Restructuring Amendment Bill which provided for income-related rents and set them at 25% of household income making community housing much more affordable than it had become under the previous Government's market rental strategy. In addition, according to Graham Kelly (Mana), “there are special circumstances to allow discretion about setting rents lower than 25 percent, which will be for places like women's refuges, for youths at risk in houses that are run by community trusts, and for a whole range of people” (NZPD Vol.585 2000, pp.3796-7). Just four months later, the Government introduced the Housing Corporation Amendment Bill in order to bring together the plethora of semi-market-orientated community housing providers with the purpose of better supporting provision. According to Judith Tizard (Minister of State), the Bill addressed this issue “by integrating Housing New Zealand Limited, the Housing Corporation of New Zealand, Community Housing Limited, and the housing policy function of the Ministry of Social Policy into one organisation.” The object was to “provide good quality, affordable, and secure rental accommodation to those who need it most” (NZPD Vol.589 2000, p.7479). This evidence illustrates support for the provision of quality affordable community, emergency and at risk youth housing during the 5LG's first term and sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The second plank related to creating opportunities and claimed that:

“Labour will develop the income support system to meet the needs of job seekers better by identifying individual needs through new programmes like Active and Future Directions which will ensure quality case management especially for young job seekers.” (12)

The 5LG has endeavoured to develop better systems for assisting job seekers. As part of this effort, there were 65% more personal beneficiary assessment plans developed in the 1999/2000 year as compared with the previous year. The aim of these plans is to assist beneficiaries to move towards work or independence and are organised by case managers who determine and implement appropriate interventions with this in mind (PP 2000 Vol.29 G.60, p.31). According to Ruth Dyson (Minister for Social Development and Employment), “much work was carried out by the Ministry of Social Development during 1999-2001 researching the best approach for initiatives, and putting support mechanisms in place so that initiatives would work. The system needed the income incentives to be right before initiatives would work. In 2001 the initiatives were announced and began to be implemented. The key changes [included] a new service approach model of case management which offered a more client focused approach with more support into work, and a more regional focus on communities [and] six new strategies: a simpler system; making work pay and investing in people; supporting families and children; mutual responsibilities; building partnerships; and tackling poverty and social exclusion. This initiative was referred to as Future Directions. Phase one of Future Directions was renamed Working for Families [in 2004]. Phase two of Future Directions [Active] was renamed Working New Zealand” (pers. com. 8/2/08). While the ‘Active’ and ‘Future Directions’ programmes were renamed, the Labour-led Government did begin to introduce programmes like them during its first term to improve case management and better provide for the needs of job seekers. As a result, this pledge is coded as fulfilled.

The third and final security promise related to investing in families and detailed that:

“We will expand wraparound programmes which co-ordinate services to young people and their families.” (12)

“In 2002 He Waka Tapu (HWT) Violence and Abuse Intervention programme and the HWT Wraparound programme, based in Christchurch, were two of the 14 community

youth programmes selected nationally to reduce youth offending. The programmes collectively received \$298,500 over three years” (New Zealand Police 2007). Also by 2002, Labour’s wraparound programme expansion strategy included “securing funding for community-based programmes such as the Maori community initiatives and Waipareira Trust’s wraparound programme, and for intensive, holistic and community-based programmes delivered by Maori for medium-risk Maori youth and their families” (Ministry of Justice 2007). These efforts to expand Government support for wraparound programmes see this commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the first term’s security planks assessed are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.6 Justice

With 26 pledges, justice was another minor policy area and again three of these were assessed. The first established that:

“Labour’s plan will combat crime through focusing police efforts on meeting crime reduction targets.” (13)

According to George Hawkins (Minister of Police), “the police established crime reduction targets for dwelling burglary, unlawful taking of motor vehicles and violent crime. These form[ed] part of the District Commanders’ Performance Agreements for the 1999/2000 year. Targets for future years [have been] the subject of periodic review between the Commissioner of Police and District Commanders” (Hansard 2 May 2000, Q.8078). Focusing police efforts on meeting these targets formed a substantial part of the Government Crime Reduction Strategy 2001. However, over the first term of the 5LG, total recorded criminal offences increased from 438,074 in 1999 to 440,129 in 2002 (Statistics New Zealand 2008). Therefore, while the 5LG may have focused police efforts on meeting crime reduction targets, more crimes were committed in the final year of it’s first term than in it’s first in opposition to what was pledged. This inability to combat crime sees the promise coded as unfulfilled.

The second commitment related to crime prevention and asserted that:

“We will ensure every school enforces an adequate truancy policy and build on successful community-based responses to youth at risk including the wraparound service.” (13)

In addition to the support for wraparound services mentioned previously in this chapter, the number of young people referred to the Non-enrolment Truancy Service (NETS) increased by 53% during the 5LG’s first term indicating that a significantly more adequate truancy policy was being employed by schools. Over the same period, the number of truants helped to re-engage in education increased by 91%. This meant that while 22% of truants were successfully re-engaged in education in 1999, this had almost doubled to 42% in 2002 (PP 2003 Vol.8 E.2, p.77). This improvement in the adequacy of school truancy policy with subsequent success in educational re-engagement rates for these youth see the plank coded as fulfilled.

The third and final justice pledge related to firearms law and boasted that:

“Labour will implement the key recommendations of the Thorp (sic) Report to reduce the availability of firearms to criminals and improve firearms safety.” (13)

“Unlike the UK, Australia, and Canada, and despite the recommendations of the Thorpe Report, Aotearoa/New Zealand does not have a gun registration system” (Greens 2005). The 1997 Thorpe Report made a number of recommendations regarding the control of firearms in New Zealand. One of the primary recommendations encouraged the introduction of a gun registration system in an effort to reduce availability and improve safety. However, after consideration of the costs and effectiveness of this process as witnessed in other countries, the idea was abandoned. This unwillingness to implement one of the key recommendations of the Thorpe Report sees the promise coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only a third of the first term’s justice commitments are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.7 Green

With 30 planks, KP 1999’s green policy was a similar size to the previous two areas and likewise three of these were assessed. The first related to waste and claimed that:

“Labour will provide help for small communities whose current sewerage arrangements pose significant health risks.” (14)

The 5LG established a Sanitary Works Subsidy Scheme during its second term and funding for the subsidy became available from 1 July 2003. According to Annette King (Minister of Health), “to qualify for a 50 percent subsidy a community must number less than 2000 people. The available subsidy reduces according to population size up to communities of 10,000 people” (Hansard 10 Apr 2003, Q.3327). While Labour did provide help for small communities whose sewerage arrangements posed significant health risks, they did not do it during the term of office to which the plank relates seeing this pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The second promise related to conservation and detailed that:

“Labour will ensure public access to wilderness by maintaining a network of back country tracks and huts, while continuing to service high-use areas.” (14)

Not only did Labour ensure their maintenance, they doubled the Department of Conservation (DOC) budget for upgrading huts, tracks and other outdoor facilities over the 2002-12 period (KP 2002, p.17). As a result, the Department of Conservation proposed to build 250km of new walking tracks across New Zealand over the same period. It also proposed to upgrade or replace another 499 tracks spanning over 1900km, and upgrade, build or replace over 90 huts as part of a major revamp of the recreational infrastructure provided on conservation land. According to Chris Carter (Minister of Conservation), “the department maintains a huge, economically significant network of huts, tracks, campsites and visitor facilities all over the country. This network has evolved in an ad hoc way over generations. Now, thanks to an investment of \$349m in DoC's visitor facilities announced in the 2002 budget, we have a unique opportunity to revamp and reorganise this network into something that better meets the recreational needs of all New Zealanders and the economies of our regions” (2003). This additional funding for track and hut maintenance sees the commitment coded as fulfilled.

The third and final green plank related to genetically modified foods and organisms and established that:

“Labour will support New Zealand manufacturers wanting to market with a GM free label.” (14)

It was not until the 5LG’s second term (April 2003) that the Ministry of Consumer Affairs (MCA) and the New Zealand Food Safety Authority (NZFSA) released a joint discussion paper inviting registrations of interest in such a marketing system. “The paper identified issues that would need to be addressed and options for developing a GM-free labelling system. It also asked stakeholders to indicate willingness to take part in developing a labelling system” (New Zealand Food Safety Authority 2003). While this did show a level of support for the idea of GM free labelling, it was only a beginning and outside of the period to which the plank related seeing the pledge coded as unfulfilled. Overall, once again, only a third of the first term’s green promises are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.8 Arts and Culture

With 24 commitments, arts and culture was another minor policy area and two of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“Labour will support our creative people by establishing the New Zealand Music Commission to encourage the development of the music industry.” (15)

“The New Zealand Music Commission [NZMC] was established in 2000 and is committed to growing New Zealand’s contemporary popular music business. The Commission receives financial support from the government to undertake projects in New Zealand and overseas to assist contemporary popular New Zealand music businesses and help develop the New Zealand music industry economically and culturally” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2007). As a result, this plank is coded as fulfilled.

The other arts and culture pledge related to radio and boasted that:

“Labour will work with the board of Radio New Zealand to ensure strong regional and provincial news coverage.” (15)

When asked what steps she had taken to ‘work with the board of Radio New Zealand (RNZ) to ensure strong regional and provincial news coverage’, Marian Hobbs (Minister of Broadcasting), replied: “None. To raise the issue of expanding regional news coverage with the Board of Radio New Zealand would compromise section 13 of the Radio New Zealand Act 1995” (Hansard 11 Apr 2000, Q.6270). While it seems somewhat incredible that Labour would have made an unfulfillable pledge in the first place, its inability to work with the Board of RNZ to ensure strong regional and provincial news coverage sees this promise coded as unfulfilled. Overall, only 50% of the first term’s arts and culture commitments are coded as fulfilled.

8.1.9 Appendix

KP 1999 included a couple of concluding pages pointing to key policy differences with National and highlighting what Labour considered their most significant planks. It only included 4 eligible planks and one of these was assessed. With reference to a Labour Government, it simply claimed:

“We will deliver.” (17)

Four months before the 2002 election, Mark Peck (Invercargill) stated: “We have delivered, but even more exciting is that much more has been done as well. A lot more has been done to start to re-establish the trust of the electorate that a Government will be elected on a platform and start to deliver on the points it has made in its manifesto” (NZPD Vol.598 2002, p.14936). Labour did deliver a much higher rate of policy implementation in its first term than National had in its last (see below). This included lower unemployment, a reduction in waiting times for elective surgery, interest-free loans for current full-time students, a reversal of the 1999 pre-election superannuation rate cuts and the restoration of income-related rents. These related to the top five commitments on Labour’s 1999 election campaign pledge card that carried the slogan ‘WE WILL DELIVER’. In addition, they recorded a 100% fulfilment rate for both the health and security policy areas in keeping with the traditional economically conservative socially liberal Labour of the left. Most of these policies required funding increases and in some cases substantial increases. Labour

managed to fulfil almost three-quarters of its promises with only 41% of the seats in Parliament while leading a minority coalition Government with confidence and supply support from the Greens. Although they had failed to honour all of their commitments, Labour had delivered a performance that was significantly closer to its policy pledges than National did in the first MMP Government. As a result, this pledge is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this section.

8.1.10 First Term Summary

There were 9 sections in Labour's Key Policies 1999 document and all of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. The jobs and economic policy area was well over twice the size of the next largest policy area and probably reflected a desire to portray economic competence and address some of the serious issues the economy was facing in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis. However, by comparison with Labour's manifestos when previously in government, the 1999 document was significantly smaller.

Out of a total sample of 38 planks, Labour fulfilled 27. This represents a fulfilment rate of 71%. This corresponds very closely to that of Labour's previous term of office from 1987-90. While it is true that Labour had to deal with implementing policy using bureaucrats who had operated for three terms under a National-led Government, it is also fair to say that Labour had the advantage of support from two parties that attempted to keep them true to a left-wing agenda. In 1999, Labour promised New Zealand an end to the radical economic experiment that had begun fifteen years earlier and appear to have halted the process and undone some of the reform policies of the restructuring era which saw Labour's vote share increase by 2% to over 41%. In addition, it confirmed to Helen Clark that New Zealanders were willing to trust her Government to, as she put it, "keep making New Zealand the best place on earth – to live, to bring up children, to care for our parents, to work, and to enjoy our unique environment" (KP 2002, p.i). The next section of this chapter will indicate to what extent Labour did keep making New Zealand 'the best place on earth' by implementing the promises it made in its 2002 Key Policies document.

8.2 SECOND TERM: 2002-5

The 2002 Key Policies document (KP 2002) was subtitled; ‘Working for Tomorrow, Today’ and contained in total, 110 pledges on 21 pages, representing an average of just over five promises per page. This indicates a pledge density that was slightly higher than that of National’s 1993 and 1996 manifestos. It reflects the fact that much of the information contained in 2002 related to the achievements of the first term rather than promises relative to the second.

8.2.1 Introduction

As in 1999, Helen Clark (Prime Minister) introduced KP 2002 with a preface entitled ‘Working for tomorrow, today’ that included 33 commitments. Four of these were assessed and the first detailed that:

“Labour in government has led New Zealand along a path which will bring greater opportunity and security for all our people.” (i)

According to Michael Cullen (Minister of Finance), “the government’s ‘Working for Families’ programme makes tangible [Labour’s] commitment to ensuring that economic growth is pursued for its capacity to provide greater security and opportunity for all. It means greater ability to participate in the New Zealand lifestyle for many who find that difficult” (NZPD Vol.617 2004, p.13395). It meant that by the time the three-year cycle of fiscal elements of the programme were fully implemented, families on medium incomes of \$25-45,000 per annum would benefit on average by \$100 per week. This is a significant increase in income for many lower income families. In addition, the maintenance of low unemployment during the 5LG’s second term created a very buoyant Labour market in which unemployment has become more of a choice than a necessity. The greater degree of opportunity and financial security that has been developed under the 5LG sees this plank coded as fulfilled.

The second pledge established that:

“Labour will keep tertiary education affordable by agreeing on maximum fees and widening eligibility for allowances.” (1)

According to Helen Duncan (Labour List), “the Government has made the student loan scheme fairer, and it has made sure, by freezing fees, and by introducing fees maxima, that students can be certain of their fee levels from year to year” (NZPD Vol.607 2003, p.4175). From 2004 the government set maximum limits on the tuition fees and course costs that students can be charged (Maharey 2003). In addition, David Benson-Pope (Associate Minister of Education), stated with reference to the Labour-led Government: “We have increased eligibility for allowances” (NZPD Vol.624 2005, p.19516). Budget 2005 made key changes to student allowances to widen eligibility, increased personal income thresholds and introduced new study awards and scholarships (Studylink 2005, p.1). The introduction of fee maxima and widened eligibility for allowances see this promise coded as fulfilled.

The third commitment asserted that:

“Labour will provide increased funding for initiatives to promote the use of buses, trains, cycling and walking.” (1)

The New Zealand Transport Strategy (NZTS) that was released in December 2002, did provide increased funding for initiatives to promote the use of buses, trains, cycling and walking. “To improve access and mobility the Government introduced a new patronage funding system for public passenger transport. This has led to substantial increases in passenger transport [particularly bus] use throughout New Zealand. The Government purchased the rail corridor and stations in Auckland [to] provide the basis for a high quality rapid transit [commuter train] system [and] increased funding for walking and cycling [to] be invested in promoting walking and cycling in a number of infrastructure projects” (New Zealand Transport Strategy 2002, p.29). According to Dave Hereora (Labour List), “the package is a new investment of an average of \$297 million per year for land transport initiatives” (NZPD Vol.615 2004, p.11155). Increased funding for the promotion of transport alternatives to the private motor vehicle see this plank coded as fulfilled.

The fourth and final introductory pledge boasted that:

“Labour will ensure regular increases in the minimum wage so its value is not eroded over time and pass new legislation to improve safety and health in the workplace.” (1)

During the Labour-led Government’s second term, the minimum wage was increased by more than 5% each year, which was well above the rate of inflation (NZSR Vol.1 2003, p.37; 2004, p.105 & 2005, p.2). In addition, the Health and Safety in Employment Amendment Act 2002 was passed in December of that year to “promote compliance with International Labour Convention 155 concerning Occupational Safety and Health and the Working Environment” (NZS Vol.3 2002, pp.2650&2). It served to make the principal Act more comprehensive by covering more industries and more conditions. As a result of these actions, this promise is coded as fulfilled. Overall, 100% of the second term’s introductory commitments assessed are coded as fulfilled.

8.2.2 Economic

With 21 planks, KP 2002s economic policy was a major area and two of these were assessed. The first related to sound public finances and fiscal policy and claimed that:

“Labour will upgrade the capital budgeting framework.” (2)

The current departmental capital budgeting framework recommended by The Treasury was introduced in 1991 during the first term of the FNG (The Treasury 1991 pp.1&17 & 2007). The maintenance of the status quo with regard to the capital budgeting framework sees this pledge coded as unfulfilled.

The other economic promise related to immigration and detailed that:

“To continue to address skills shortages that hold back economic growth, we will continue to actively recruit talented and skilled migrants to New Zealand through waiving the labour market test for identified skills shortages.” (7)

“The labour market test applied to work permit holders [for the] 2003 calendar year was waived for many of the applications as a result of the applicant having an

occupation on the OSL (Occupational Shortages List – 30%) or POL (Priority Occupations List – 6%)” (New Zealand Immigration Service 2004, p.29). The waiver of the labour market test for those with skills in short supply sees this commitment coded as fulfilled. Overall, only 50% of the second term’s economic planks assessed are coded as fulfilled.

8.2.3 Health

With 13 pledges, health was another major policy area, but only one of these was assessed. It related to the improvement of mental health services and established that:

“We will ring-fence mental health money and continue to rebuild the mental health workforce, including creating more than 800 extra positions in community mental health services.” (8)

By 2005, the Operational Policy Framework (OPF) that outlines the business requirements for DHBs to adhere to around the use of devolved funding, included restrictions on the use of funding supplied for mental health purposes. These restrictions required that “DHBs plan to maintain current levels of service to mental health, mental health funding be used for mental health purposes and accumulated mental health funds surpluses be directed for reinvestment in mental health services” (Ministry of Health 2002, 5.16.1). In addition, with reference to mental health services, David Cunliffe (Minister of Health) has confirmed that “the increase in total funded community full-time equivalent (FTE) staff from 2002 to 2005 [was] 850” (pers. com. 18/3/08; See also the Ministry of Health’s ‘Health and Independence Report – Overall trends in beds and community staff to June 2006’). The ring-fencing of mental health money and the creation of more than 800 FTE mental health staff positions see this promise coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfilment rate for this policy area.

8.2.4 Education

With 26 commitments, education was the largest policy area in KP 2002 outside of the introduction and three of these were assessed. The first asserted that:

“To ensure every child has access to quality early childhood education we will improve staff:child ratios and reduce group sizes.” (11)

Just four months before the 2005 General Election, Trevor Mallard (Minister of Education) insisted that he would “be engaging in further consultation before a decision on ratios is made, and with regards to group sizes,” he said: “I have deferred a decision until 2009 to allow for more information to be gathered” (2005). This meant that the improvements and reductions Labour had committed to in 2002 were not implemented by 2005 seeing the plank coded as unfulfilled.

The second pledge boasted that:

“To make sure school children reach their potential we will expand the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) so students in remote areas have access to specialist teaching which is not available locally.” (11)

According to Mallard, “the Government initiated a project to deliver high-speed internet access (broadband) to all schools and to most provincial communities. The project [was to] be implemented on a regional basis and [was to be] complete[d] by the end of 2004. While all state primary and secondary schools had access to the internet by September 2001, this project [would] make it possible for schools throughout New Zealand to use the internet as an integral teaching, professional development and administration tool, by ensuring that provincial areas ha[d] a similar level of service to that available in the main urban centres” (NZPDQS Vol.53 2002, p.1913). This expansion of ICT to students in remote areas so they could receive specialist teaching sees the promise coded as fulfilled.

The third and final education commitment claimed that:

“To ensure our tertiary education is world-class and meets our future needs we will raise funding for the Performance-Based Research Fund to \$20 million a year by 2006.” (11)

According to Paul Hutchison (Port Waikato) during the 2006 Budget Debate, “the Government aims to put \$250 million into the Performance-based Research Fund (PBRF) by 2010. This time [2006], the amount will go up again by about another \$20

million” (NZPD Vol.631 2006, p.3357). The 2006 \$20 million dollar funds injection for the PBRF sees this plank coded as fulfilled. Overall, two-thirds of the second term’s education pledges are coded as fulfilled.

8.2.5 Foreign Affairs and Trade

With just 1 promise, foreign affairs and trade was a very minor policy area, but this promise was assessed. It detailed that:

“Our priorities are to build strong links to key overseas markets, scientific partners, investors, and individuals that will help us achieve an innovative, creative and successful country.” (15)

In his keynote address to the Asia Society seminar and ministerial luncheon on New Zealand’s Creative Economy in New York, Pete Hodgson (Minister of Economic Development), stated: “We are taking a carefully targeted, focused approach to attracting quality foreign investment. We are aggressively promoting exports and we are re-shaping the national branding of our country to align it with contemporary reality. That reality is smart, innovative, technologically advanced, creative, successful and it’s found in a land the size of California with the combined population of Brooklyn and Queens” (2004, p.2). Just a few of the many examples of this from 2002-5 include New Zealand’s invitation to participate in the first East Asian Summit in 2005, the negotiation of additional access for sheep meat and butter to Europe following the 2004 EU enlargement, the 2004 United States-New Zealand Bilateral Climate Change Scientific Partnership, the 2005 trade mission that went to New Caledonia and French Polynesia with representatives from New Zealand businesses to work together to develop trading and investment partnerships and new linkages based on educational and other people-to people exchanges with Saudi Arabia during the period have been noted (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Vol.14 No.2 2005, pp.7, 16, 27&32 & United States Department of State 2004). A determination of the extent to which these strengthened links have helped New Zealand to achieve innovation, creativity and success would be speculative, but they do draw on New Zealand innovation and creativity and exemplify a measure of success in securing

international recognition and credibility. As a result, this commitment is coded as fulfilled representing a 100% fulfillment rate for this policy area.

8.2.6 Second Term Summary

There were 10 sections in Labour's Key Policies 2002 and half of these included promises that were assessed for fulfilment. The five areas omitted were 'Security and Opportunity', 'Justice', 'Green', 'Maori Social and Economic Development' and 'Pacific Island and Ethnic Affairs'. These areas contained one to six promises and the representative selection process did not allow for their inclusion because the promises they contained were not the next tenth promise in order.

Out of a total sample of 11 promises, Labour fulfilled 9. This represents a fulfilment rate of 82%. This is substantially higher than the result for the first term and represents the biggest implementation improvement between terms throughout the entire study period (11% increase). It suggests that Labour's second term achieved an extremely high level of policy implementation from a domestic and international perspective, with previous MMP government's achieving less than 72% and most other proportional systems recording less than 60% fulfilment rates for governing parties. This result probably occurred as Labour made fewer and less bold promises coupled with the advantage of having had three years to organise the systems of government with which to work. Working with a less radical steady-as-she-goes approach in socio-economic policy areas created a core of support which Labour was able to maintain throughout its second term. While there is much yet to be written about the legacy of the fifth Labour Government, the story should include its ability during its second term to adhere reasonably closely with a set of policy preferences notwithstanding the exigencies of retaining a minority coalition government with support and confidence from the centre with even greater success than it did when coalescing on the left.

8.3 FIFTH LABOUR GOVERNMENT SUMMARY

Out of a total sample of 49 promises, Labour fulfilled 36. This represents a fulfilment rate of 73%. This makes the overall result for the fifth Labour Government higher (6-7%) than that of both previous governments and outside the margin of error (5%).

This compares favourably with Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrats' policy implementation in Ireland around the same time (2002 – 70%, Costello & Thomson 2007) when the Irish result includes the policies of coalition partners and partial fulfilment that both serve to inflate fulfilment rates. The improved performance of the 5LG can be attributed to a number of factors including, Helen Clark's personal mission to restore integrity to the mandate model of party politics in New Zealand, compliant coalition partners who largely saw their role as complimentary to the government rather than competitive, favourable economic conditions and internal party cohesion that sublimated personality conflicts in the interests of the greater party good. Ironically, it has been the reunification of Labour with the parties of one of its lost sheep, Jim Anderton's Alliance (1999) and Progressives (2002) that has helped to maintain stable and responsible government. Perhaps the reason for this is summed up well on the first page of the 2002 Coalition Agreement which states: "The manifestos of Labour and the Progressive Coalition have much in common with both parties being committed to a progressive social democratic policy programme. Reflecting its electoral mandate, Labour will lead the broad policy programme, recognising the Progressive Coalition's general priorities of employment, support for low income families, health and education". Such a level of inter-party policy complementarity helped the 5LG progressively improve their policy implementation performance from 1999-2005. This also supports the hypothesis that it becomes easier to fulfil promises, the longer a party is in government due to both a greater degree of control over the means of fulfilment and making promises with more accuracy and realism once an incumbent. However, the 5LG has managed to maintain electoral support between the 2002 and 2005 elections challenging the inverse relationship that had previously emerged between promise-keeping and electoral support. Labour increased support from 39% in 1999 to 41% at both of the following elections even though National's vote increased from 21% in 2002 to 39% in 2005.

CHAPTER NINE: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

This chapter will seek to bring together the findings from each of the five governments and eleven terms assessed and present what these mean in relation to the research questions posed in Chapter One. Each of these findings and the questions they answer has resulted in a unique contribution to our understanding of the democratic mandate, political accountability and policy implementation in New Zealand. They also add to the body of knowledge internationally, to some extent comparatively, and in some cases contribute by adding new dimensions to this kind of research because the New Zealand context is unique.

9.1 QUESTION ONE

Has the number of promises made in the manifestos of major parties entering government been consistent over time?

In order to address this question, it was necessary to find out how many promises had been made in various manifestos. While it is difficult to compare raw numbers to international research due to definitional differences, other states have seen reasonably unstable levels of promise-making over time with an increase in recent years in some cases. For example, the median number of pledges given by the parties at each election between 1977-1997 in Ireland has almost doubled from just over 50 in 1977 to just under 100 in 1997 (Mansergh 2003, p.127).

Figure 9.1 indicates how many direct 'will' statements were made in the manifestos of governing New Zealand parties from 1972-2002. This shows that, with the exception of National in 1981, New Zealand has had very high levels of promise-making traditionally, but that these numbers have decreased significantly since 1990. This coincides with three factors that have potentially affected the number of promises in manifestos. Firstly, the shift away from the delegatory model of political representation in New Zealand towards a more elitist representative model from the mid-1980s called into question the efficacy of a large and promise-filled manifesto. Secondly, the shift to MMP meant that the prospect of governing alone became less

likely and uncertainty around this may have resulted in a reluctance to make outright promises and finally, the advent of the computer age has resulted in more detailed policy being presented on party websites while the printed manifesto either shrunk to a presentation of key policies in Labour's case or completely vanished as in National's. At any rate, it is clear that in answer to question one, the number of promises made in the manifestos of major parties entering government have not been consistent over time in New Zealand.

In this regard, New Zealand appears to be rather unique as other countries have not manifested the same decrease in promise-making. This does not mean that the content has been diluted. Indeed, Labour's 1999 Key Policies document contained the highest number of promises per page recorded (22 - equal to National in 1978). However, the size of the manifesto itself has certainly shrunk and as Mansergh found in Ireland, "when manifestos are longer, pledges are more numerous" (2003, p.126).

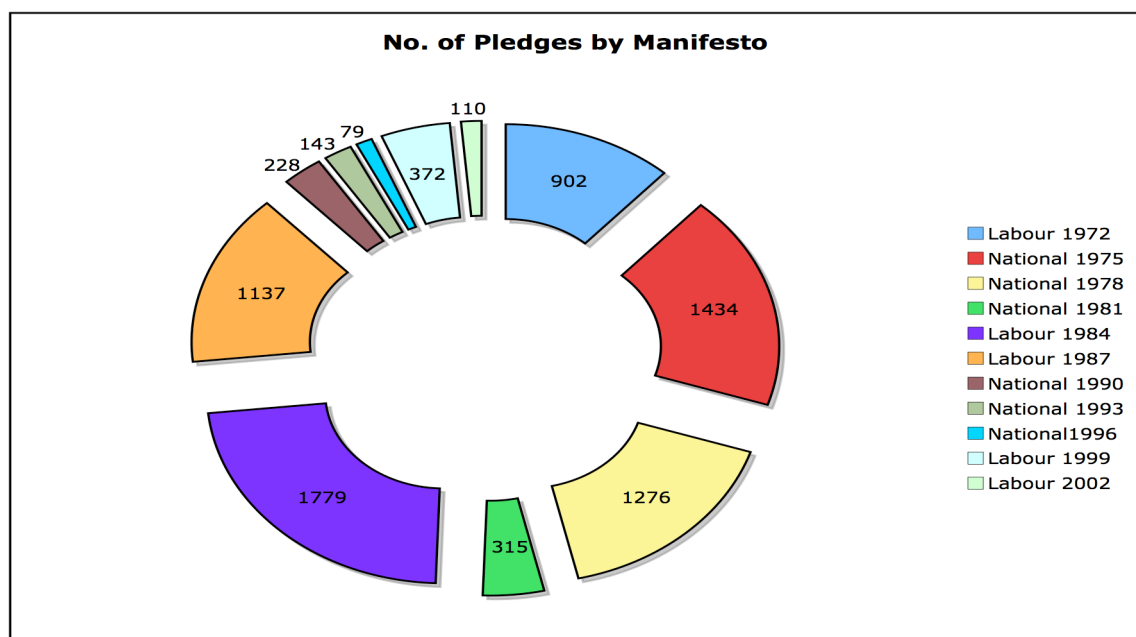


Figure 9.1 Number of Pledges made in the Election Manifestos of Major Governing Parties from 1972-2002.

9.2 QUESTION TWO

Does the number of promises made vary significantly by party, time and system?

The question here is: To what extent do the variables of party, time and electoral system affect the number of promises made by parties? Overseas research does not indicate a strong relationship between party and number of promises made. For example, the number of promises made by the Conservative and Labour Party in the UK between 1974-1992 are not obviously different along party lines. Indeed, Labour falls in between the minimum and maximum promise-laden manifestos of the Conservatives (Royed 2007, p.25). Throughout the 1970s and 80s, the number of promises are reasonably similar, but as in Ireland, this number increases significantly in the 1990s (ibid). Until now, there has been no substantive research done overseas on the impact of changing an electoral system on policy implementation and in this sense, the present research is foundational.

Table 9.1 indicates how many direct ‘will’ statements were made in the manifestos of governing parties from 1972-2002 in descending order and differentiates between party, era and electoral system. This shows that there is not a strong correlation between the number of pledges made and political party. Labour and National have both produced manifestos with large numbers of pledges and smaller numbers although overall, Labour’s average number is higher than National’s, but this appears to be more a function of era and system where a strong relationship between size and the dependent variable exists. It is clear from Table 9.1 that a strong relationship exists between era and manifesto size. The five manifestos with the largest number of pledges all pre-date 1990 after which manifestos became much smaller for the reasons mentioned above. It is also clear that manifestos produced under the FPP system were generally larger than those produced under the MMP system, the exception to this being Labour’s 1999 document. It can therefore be concluded that manifesto size in New Zealand has not been a function of party, but era and system with the pre-1990s and FPP system contributing to larger and more promise-filled manifestos.

Party	Years	System	No. of Pledges
Labour	1984-7	FPP	1779
National	1975-8	FPP	1434
National	1978-81	FPP	1276
Labour	1987-90	FPP	1137
Labour	1972-5	FPP	902
Labour	1999-2002	MMP	372
National	1981-4	FPP	315
National	1990-3	FPP	228
National	1993-6	FPP	143
Labour	2002-5	MMP	110
National	1996-9	MMP	79

Table 9.1: Number of Pledges made by Party, Year and System.¹⁰

In this regard, New Zealand is similar to other countries where the party making promises is not an important factor in determining the number of pledges made. On the other hand, New Zealand is once again unique in presenting an opposing trend to other states such as the UK and Ireland where the number of pledges appears to be increasing while New Zealand parties make fewer commitments. While comparisons relative to the effect of electoral system on promise-making within a country are not possible outside New Zealand, a comparison between FPP UK and PR Ireland indicate a reasonably similar level of pledge-making between these two countries with different systems, but New Zealand does show a relationship between system and the number of promises made with MMP manifestos tending to be smaller than their FPP equivalents.

9.3 QUESTION THREE

Are main government parties more likely than not to keep their election promises?

The question here is: To what extent do parties fulfil their pre-election promises when given the opportunity to do so? Previous research done in New Zealand by Matthew

¹⁰ Traditional party colour is used for party, brown for post-1990 terms of government and orange for MMP.

Gibbons determined that between 1946-79, approximately 75% of policy implementation was related to manifesto policies. In other words, before 1979, using the saliency approach to measure implementation, around three-quarters of government actions could be linked to policy leanings presented in party pre-election material and this rated New Zealand higher than nine other European and Anglo-European states and second only to France (Gibbons 1999, Figure 1.5).

Table 9.2 indicates the proportion of pledges the major governing parties in New Zealand kept over the 1972-2005 government period in ascending order.

Government	Term	Years	Pledge Fulfilment
4 th National-led	3rd	1996-9	50%
4 th Labour	1st	1984-7	62%
4 th National	1st	1990-3	65%
5 th Labour-led	1st	1999-2002	71%
4 th Labour	2nd	1987-90	72%
3 rd National	1st	1975-8	75%
3 rd Labour	1st	1972-5	77%
3 rd National	2nd	1978-81	79%
4 th National	2nd	1993-6	80%
5 th Labour-led	2nd	2002-5	82%
3 rd National	3rd	1981-4	88%

Table 9.2: Proportion of Election Pledges Fulfilled by Party and Term.

This shows that the major parties in all terms of government managed to fulfil at least half of their pre-election promises and most of them fulfilled at least three-quarters. The extent to which this represents an acceptable level of implementation is a matter for conjecture. As Naurin has said, “one of the most salient attitudes among voters is that election promises are frequently, or even always, broken (2007, p.1). In New Zealand’s case, it is clear that is not a reflection of reality. The average fulfilment rate for New Zealand from 1972-2005 is 73%. This means that on average, the New Zealand voter can expect the major party in government to fulfil more than seven of every ten promises they make. While some would probably claim that any broken promise is a broken promise too many and John Key (Leader of the Opposition) has said, “65% fulfilment (performance rate for the first term of the FNG) is not acceptable” (pers. com. 8/5/08), given the exigencies of balancing budgets,

international economic and domestic fiscal crises, internal party politics and changing circumstances may lead us to conclude that an average policy implementation rate of over 70% is satisfactory. Whether this is the case or not, with the exception of the third term of the Fourth National Government, and New Zealand's first term under MMP, all of the government's studied have been more likely than not to keep their election promises in answer to question three.

When this is compared to Gibbons' pre-1980s research, it means that the programme to policy link has remained reasonably stable at an average of 70-80% fulfilment from 1946-2005 with specific exceptions only being outside this. It puts New Zealand between the averages for the UK, Greece and Canada of higher than 80% and the US at around 60% (Naurin 2007, p.3). This suggests that the mandate model, whereby parties make promises that they endeavour to keep when in office, operates quite consistently and reliably in the New Zealand context.

9.4 QUESTION FOUR

Are policy implementation rates significantly higher for one party than another?

The question here is: To what extent is there variation in fulfilment rates between parties? Without the benefit of overseas research, this may have seemed an unlikely question as there is no obvious reason to suspect that one party is more likely to fulfil promises than another, but this relationship does appear to exist in the US, for example. Between 1976-2000, whenever there was a Democratic President, the Democratic Party pledge fulfilment rates were consistently over 65% while whenever there was a Republican President, the Republican Party pledge fulfilment rates were consistently under 65% (Royed 2007, p.22).

Table 9.3 presents the pledge fulfilment rates for Labour and National Governments from the research period in chronological order.

Government	Years	Pledge Fulfilment
3rd Labour	1972-5	77%
3rd National	1975-84	78%
4th Labour	1984-90	66%
4th National	1990-9	67%
5th Labour	1999-2005	73%
Labour Overall	1972-2005	72%
National Overall	1975-1999	73%

Table 9.3: Pledge Fulfilment Rates by Government Party.¹¹

This reveals that there is very little difference between Labour and National's overall pledge fulfilment performance. While National's score is a percent higher than Labour's this is well within the 5% margin of error. As a result, question four found that in the New Zealand context, policy implementation rates are not significantly higher for one party over another.

In this regard, New Zealand exemplifies a higher degree of inter-partisan consistency in pledge fulfilment uncharacteristic of some other states. While this difference can be attributed to the degree of congressional-presidential heterogeneity in the United States, this does not account for higher Conservative than Labour fulfilment rates in the United Kingdom (Royed 2007, p.25). While New Zealand's overall fulfilment rates are lower than the UK's, they are uniform between the main parties.

9.5 QUESTION FIVE

Are policy implementation rates highest before 1984 and higher under FPP than MMP?

The question here is: To what extent is there variation in fulfilment rates between different political eras and electoral systems? Hypothesis Three put it this way:

If a party forms the government under FPP, then it will fulfil a greater proportion of its election planks than if it forms part of the government under MMP.

¹¹ Traditional party colours used.

The past 14 years have seen coalition governments as the mainstay in the New Zealand Parliament, 12 of these years under MMP. With manoeuvring ahead of the advent of MMP and the new electoral system taking effect, both of the major parties (Labour and National) have needed support from others in the house in order to secure confidence and supply and function as a responsible government since a year after the last FPP election in 1993. However, while MMP was adopted to increase the accountability of the government to the electorate, it is possible that it has in fact decreased the level of accountability relative to the electoral mandate. This hypothesis sought to test whether a higher percentage of election planks were fulfilled before or after the advent of MMP and coalition government. Gibbons' research indicated that there was a deterioration in the relationship between manifesto emphases in transfers and health over time, but principally from 1984-94 (Gibbons 2000, p.296). The impact of MMP on pledge fulfilment has not previously been researched in New Zealand nor has the effect of a change in a state's electoral system on implementation rates been studied until now.

Table 9.4 presents fulfilment rates by period and electoral system in chronological order.

Government	Period	Electoral System	Pledge Fulfilment	Period/System Average
3rd Labour	Pre 1984	FPP	77%	FPP Pre 1984
3rd National	Pre 1984	FPP	78%	78%
4th Labour	Post 1984	FPP	66%	FPP Post 1984
4th National	Post 1984	FPP	71%	69%
4th National	Post 1984	MMP	50%	MMP Post 1984
5th Labour	Post 1984	MMP	73%	62%

*Table 9.4: Pledge Fulfilment by Period and Electoral System.*¹²

A clear pattern emerges from this table showing that there does appear to have been a deterioration in election policy implementation in New Zealand over time. Before the Fourth Labour and National Governments, fulfilment was highest. This then dropped to a new average 9% below that evident previously as successive governments implemented a range of non-mandated policies. With the shift to MMP, this dropped

¹² Green is used to designate pre-1984 FPP governments, orange for post-1984 FPP governments and pink for MMP governments.

by another 7% and both of these decreases are statistically significant. However, it should be noted that the MMP period is negatively affected by the effects of the 1996-9 term, New Zealand's first under MMP, in which National's detailed Coalition Agreement with NZFirst (the only one of its kind ever to have been struck in NZ) failed to include many of National's policies as National made major concessions and consequently struggled to implement its manifesto. Subsequent to this, fulfilment rates under successive MMP parliaments have been significantly higher and are increasing. However, question five found that in the New Zealand context fulfilment rates were highest prior to 1984 and higher under FPP than MMP on average, thus validating the proposition put forward by hypothesis three.

In this regard, the pattern which Gibbons identified as emerging up to the mid-1990s has continued and been reinforced with the advent of MMP. However, with fulfilment rates under MMP increasing with each successive term, it will be interesting to see whether this finding is ultimately found to be invalid in the future. This may depend to some extent on who is in government and their attitude towards policy. Helen Clark (Prime Minister) has carefully sought to restore faith in the mandate, but if John Key replaces her, this focus may change as he has said that "elections are not about a few policies in a manifesto, we will underpromise rather than over and I personally think people vote primally. It's really about how you feel, not policies" (pers. com. 8/5/08).

9.6 QUESTION SIX

Do parties make more or less of their manifesto promises on the traditionally high-profile important socio-economic issues of health, housing, education, welfare and the economy?

The question here is: How many manifesto promises are made in the big five socio-economic areas as opposed to other areas? Between 1970-83 in the UK, these areas featured most prominently in governing parties' manifestos and ranged from 39-63% of promises made in Dutch manifestos from 1986-94 (Thomson 1999, pp.33,36&78). In fact, according to Thomson, the reason he focussed on socio-economic issues in his research was "that each of the four main parties devote[d] a considerable amount of attention to such issues in their election programmes" (ibid, p.78).

Figure 9.2 illustrates the proportion of governing parties' election manifestos devoted to health, housing, education, welfare and the economy. As the bubble graph indicates, all of the manifestos from 1993 onwards are closest to the Y axis illustrating that these were the only manifestos with greater proportions of socio-economic pledges than pledges in other policy areas. In other words, since 1993, there has been a shift in New Zealand towards policy presentation that focuses on health, housing, education, welfare and the economy. Many of the other areas which traditionally took up large portions of manifestos in New Zealand such as agriculture, manufacturing, women's affairs and law and order either disappeared from the early 1990s or have become minor policy areas. Some of this phenomenon can be attributed to the removal of subsidies and government protection from primary and secondary industries, the achievement of many of the aims of particular policy areas in which both major parties agree to maintain the status quo and movement away from policy areas which are not 'feel good' such as law and order, justice, defence and international relations towards areas of more universal appeal such as health, education and economic well-being. Whatever the reasons, it is clear that the manifestos of governing parties in New Zealand have become increasingly focussed on socio-economic issues since the early 1990s.

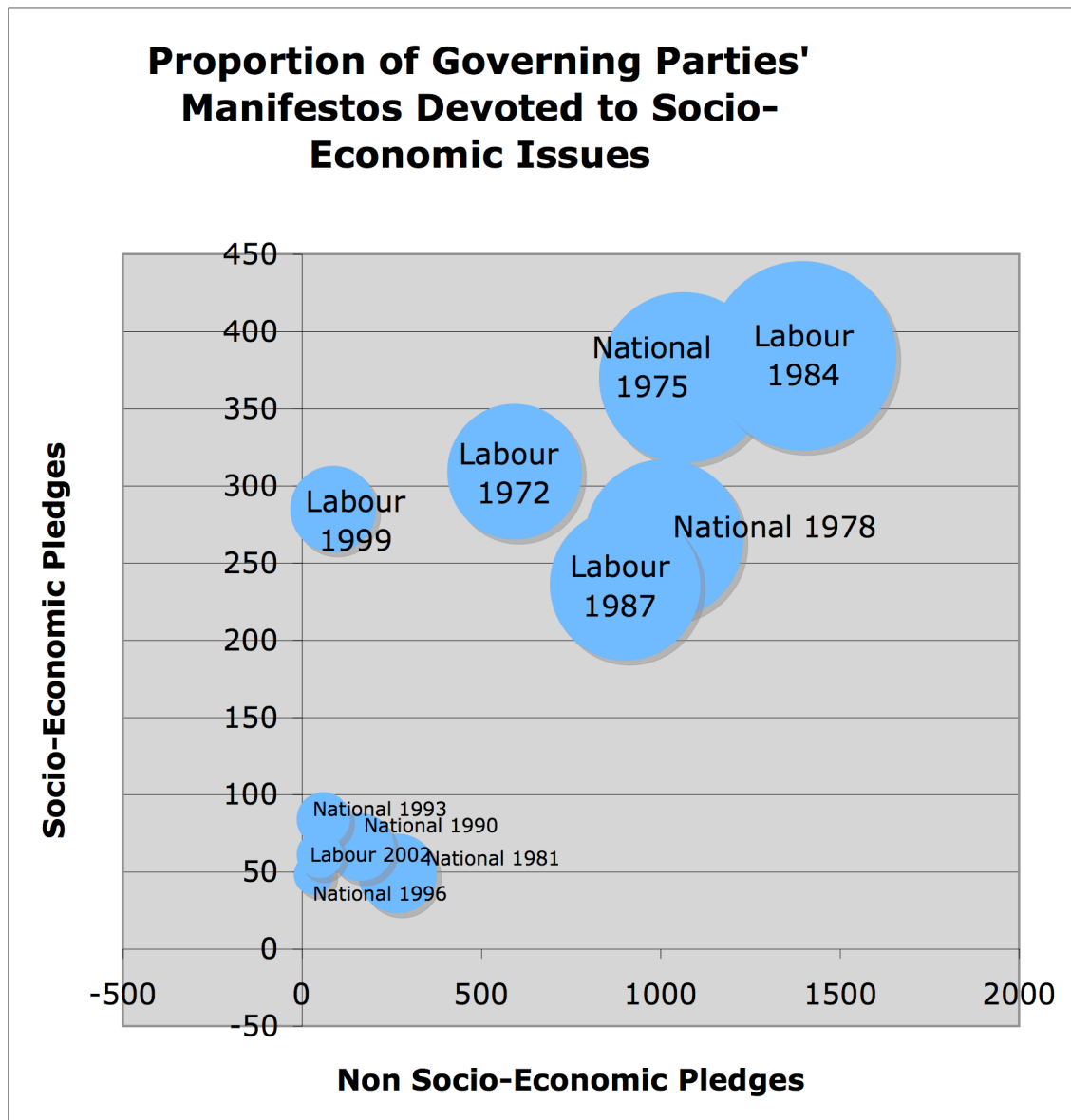


Figure 9.2: Relative Proportion of Governing Parties' Manifestos Devoted to Socio-Economic Issues.¹³

Certainly, Thomson's analysis of the four main Dutch manifestos in 1994 did not show a similar shift towards socio-economic policy as the proportion devoted to these policies actually decreased for the PvdA and VVD parties (1999, p.78). In this regard, New Zealand may be presenting with another unique pattern relative to other states. The upcoming 2008 election in New Zealand will provide an opportunity to determine whether this trend has become entrenched as discussion around issues of law and order, justice and the police force have been salient topics throughout the 2005-8 term of government and may challenge for greater representation in upcoming printed election material.

¹³ The bubble size relates to the total number of pledges in the manifesto.

9.6.1 Hypothesis One

If the number of commitments in a manifesto is lower, then the proportion of the manifesto devoted to socio-economic issues will be higher.

Related to Question Six, this hypothesis postulated that as manifestos decrease in size, the emphasis on core issues such as socio-economic policy becomes more prevalent. This relates to the idea that the greater the number of pledges contained in a manifesto, the more freedom a party has to present policy on peripheral areas or policy with a more sectoral interest that appeals to smaller groups within the electorate. This means that manifestos containing fewer pledges must focus policy on areas that are likely to appeal to a broad cross-section of the electorate with some direct level of impact on most voters. As Figure 9.6 makes clear, this hypothesis was found to be accurate in the case of New Zealand. There is a perfect correlation between the decrease in the number of pledges made in manifestos and the increase in the proportion of these devoted to central socio-economic themes. It appears that these issues are considered to be of core importance, such that, when manifesto size diminishes, these areas become more prominent as the numbers of pledges in non-socio-economic areas rapidly decrease in proportion to core policy.

9.7 QUESTION SEVEN

Do parties specialise in certain policy areas thus making more promises in these areas than in others?

The question here is: Does Labour focus on pledge-making in left-wing politics areas (social welfare, environment etc) while National focuses on pledge-making in right-wing politics areas (justice, defence etc)? Royed's research from the 1980s on the UK and US indicated that for both the Conservatives and Labour in the UK and the Republicans and Democrats in the US, economic policy was the largest policy area in all of the manifestos coded (1992, pp.58-9). This suggests that there is no significant difference in areas of emphasis between left and right-wing parties in advanced democracies.

Table 9.5 presents the main policy areas in each of the governing parties manifestos for New Zealand. It becomes apparent that both Labour and National have focused on economic policy in a number of manifestos. They have also both shared a focus on traditionally left-wing issues such as health, women, social assistance and education indicating that these issues are not partisan emphases in New Zealand. However, it should be noted that making promises in these areas does not necessarily mean these are promises to increase expenditure or expand services per se. On the other hand, only National has made primary and secondary industry interests a major manifesto focus and this is as might be expected with a rural conservative and business sector voter base.

As in Royed's findings for the UK and US, the emphasis of both of New Zealand's main political parties on economic policies seems to be consistent practice. Left-wing policy agendas are not the domain of Labour alone with National producing major policies in health and social assistance. National's sectoral interests are apparent, but only before the restructuring period of the mid-1980s after which the removal of subsidies and protection meant much lower levels of government involvement in the affairs of these sectors.

Party	Year	Largest Policy Area
Labour	1972	Finance & Taxation
National	1975	Agriculture
National	1978	Health
National	1981	Manufacturing
Labour	1984	Economic
Labour	1987	Women
National	1990	Economy/Law & Order
National	1993	Health & Social Assistance
National	1996	Economy
Labour	1999	Jobs & Economic
Labour	2002	Education

*Table 9.5: Major Policy Areas by Party Manifesto.*¹⁴

¹⁴ Blue is used to denote traditional right-wing policy emphases, red for traditional left-wing emphases and economic policy areas are left neutral.

9.8 QUESTION EIGHT

Are parties more likely to keep promises, the longer they are in government?

The question here is: Does incumbency correlate positively to election pledge fulfilment? Hypothesis Two put it this way:

If a party returns to office for a second or third term as an incumbent, then it will achieve a higher level of pledge fulfilment in each successive term than it did in its previous term.

It was anticipated that incumbency would positively relate to pledge fulfilment. There was expected to be a positive relationship between the length of time a party was in government and its ability to implement its election commitments. It was envisaged that the major determinants of this would be control over the tools of implementation and the amount of time it takes to overcome bureaucratic inertia to institute changes in established policy direction. The extent to which this was the case in New Zealand was tested by comparing levels of election promise-keeping to the number of terms a party was in a particular government.

This is an area about which not a great deal of research has been done either domestically or internationally. One of the reasons for this relates to the fact that most studies using the pledge approach have assessed implementation only for two or three governments. This makes testing the incumbency effect difficult even though a number of researchers have discussed the fact that incumbency should improve policy implementation.

Table 9.6 presents the results for each term of government giving a clear picture of the level of implementation for incumbent governments. Out of the eleven terms studied, five were first terms and therefore used as benchmarks. Out of the remaining six incumbent terms, five recorded higher percentages of fulfilment than the term immediately preceding it. The only anomaly to what is otherwise a consistent pattern is the 1996 National-NZFirst Coalition Government under MMP in which National's fulfilment rate dropped substantially from the 80% it achieved in its second term to 50%. This does appear to be abnormal, however, as the subsequent Labour-led Government managed to return to the pattern by increasing its performance between its' first and second terms.

Government	Term	No. of Pledges	Implementation Rate
3rd Labour	1st	902	77%
3rd National	1st	1434	75%
3rd National	2nd	1275	79%
3rd National	3rd	315	88%
4th Labour	1st	1779	62%
4th Labour	2nd	1137	72%
4th National	1st	228	65%
4th National	2nd	143	80%
4th National	3rd	79	50%
5th Labour	1st	372	71%
5th Labour	2nd	110	82%

Table 9.6: Implementation Rates and Incumbency.¹⁵

It does make sense that other than in unusual circumstances, such as those that existed for National in 1996 with a new electoral system and a coalition partner demanding significantly more than its vote share in policy trade-offs pulling National back from its right-wing agenda towards the political centre, that parties would improve their performance the longer they are in power. This is because it takes some time to reorient the bureaucracy towards new policy goals. Parties in opposition also tend to make generous promises. For many years in New Zealand this was because they were unable to get an accurate picture of the public accounts, but also because of the desperation to get into government, sometimes it would seem to be at whatever cost. Once in government, a party is likely to make more realistic promises based on a greater degree of inside knowledge and these are more likely to be status quo or continuation pledges which are easier to keep, than new initiatives that require much more work to implement. This is because new governments change systems while incumbents tend to continue their programmes as they see electoral support as an endorsement of the programmes they have already put in place. It should also be noted that alongside this, each time a party is returned to office, its' manifesto contains fewer pledges than the one preceding it. This phenomenon is completely consistent as Table 9.8 reveals. It seems reasonable to conclude that it is easier to

¹⁵ Traditional party colours used for government, term and number of pledges. Incumbency rates are coloured as follows: Black = N/A because 1st term, Green = incumbent term with higher fulfilment and Red = incumbent term with lower fulfilment.

fulfil a higher proportion of fewer promises and this factor assists incumbents to achieve higher fulfilment rates. Therefore, hypothesis two was found to hold true in the New Zealand context as almost without exception, incumbent parties in government were more successful in fulfilling election pledges with each successive term of office.

9.9 QUESTION NINE

Is there a relationship between policy implementation and electoral support?

The question here is: Do voters reward parties for increased promise-keeping? Hypothesis Four put it this way:

If a party in government fulfils a greater proportion of election promises than it did in its previous term of government, then it will increase its share of the vote at the subsequent election.

As a consequence of high levels of election promise-keeping, it was anticipated that parties would be rewarded by the electorate with a greater degree of support at the next election. The research conducted on election promise-keeping in other countries largely accepts this relationship as given. A reason for this is that the notion of electoral accountability based on political office-seeking behaviour revolves around the theory that voters reward parties for keeping promises and punish them for breaking them, thus keeping parties ‘honest’. This thesis has sought to establish the extent to which high levels of promise-keeping does result in corresponding electoral support. It stands to reason that if voters are upset by untrustworthy political actors, the more reliable they are, the more support the electorate should give. At least, in doing so, it would send a message to parties that would serve to reinforce the principles of the mandate model of democratic representation.

Figure 9.3 illustrates the relationship between policy implementation and electoral support. Just as consistently as policy implementation increases with incumbency and promise-making decreases, electoral support also drops. In other words, there is an inverse relationship between policy implementation and electoral support. The longer governments are in power, the more they keep their promises and

the less the electorate reward them. There are no exceptions to this. In 1981 National's vote share dropped and then it dropped again in 1984 after National had honoured 88% of its election pledges. After the Fourth Labour Government performed poorly in their first term, they were returned with the largest vote share in the study period and then after improving their performance Labour's vote share was slashed at the subsequent election. Such a consistent pattern of punishment for fulfilment raises the question of whether it is in the best interests of governments not to keep election promises. However, after National's performance decreased between 1996-9, they still suffered a decrease in voter support at the 1999 election. Therefore, the opposite is not also true. It seems that the electorate simply tire of parties in government irrespective of what they do. Having said that, Labour's share of the vote only decreased by .16% between the 2002 and 2005 elections, but it was nevertheless a decrease notwithstanding an 82% fulfilment rate. Therefore, hypothesis four was found to be invalid. In opposition to the principle of reward for good performance, it appears that a major parties' performance in government does not guarantee or even encourage, subsequent rewards at the polls.

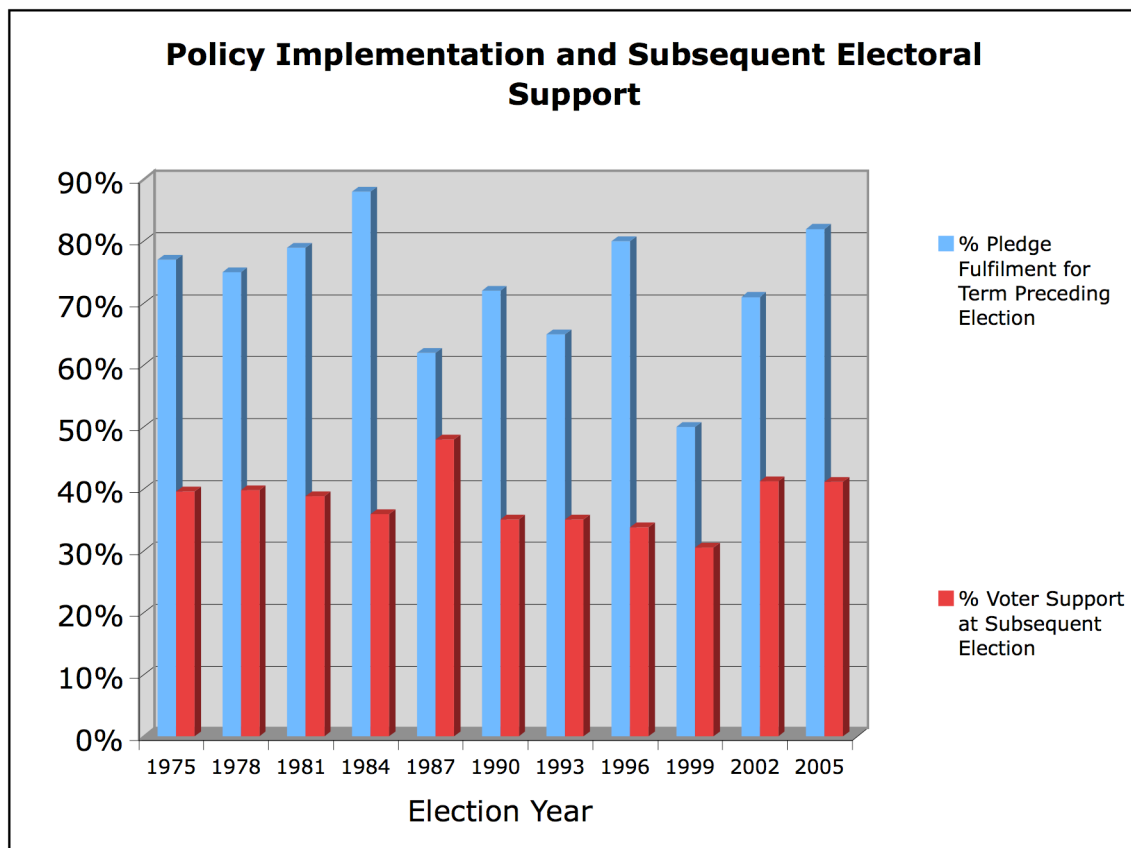


Figure 9.3: Policy Implementation and Resulting Electoral Support.

9.10 QUESTION TEN

Does the orientation on the left-right policy dimension of a minor coalition partner in relation to a major coalition partner affect their ability to fulfil promises?

The question here is: Do minor parties who lean towards the opposing side of the political spectrum from their coalition partners decrease the fulfilment rates of major parties in government? This question seeks to determine whether coalition partners serve to moderate or encourage the fulfilment of major partners' election pledges based on their placement on the left-right policy dimension. This suggests that Labour should be assisted to fulfil more of its policy agenda by a party on its left than by one on its right. Conversely, National should find the task of fulfilment less troublesome if flanked by a right-wing partner than by one to its left.

Government	Support	Pledge Fulfilment	Policy Mixture
National/NZFirst Majority ¹⁶	N/A	50%	CntrRght/CntrLft
Labour/Alliance Minority ¹⁷	<i>Greens</i>	71%	CntrLft/Lft/Lft
Labour/Progressive Minority	<i>United Future</i>	82%	CntrLft/CntrLft/CntrRght

Table 9.7: Pledge Fulfilment and Partner Profile

Table 9.7 presents the relationship between the political orientation of coalition partners and fulfilment levels for major parties. A majority coalition arrangement such as that entered into by National and NZFirst in 1996 gave the smaller coalition partner considerable power. This combined with the reality that this party was on the opposite side of the political spectrum meant that it was difficult for National to fulfil its policy programme. The length of time a coalition has in government impacts on its ability to fulfil policy as pointed out by Mansergh in relation to Irish governments (2003, p.188). While Labour's first term of coalition

¹⁶ This coalition lasted less than two years after which National was supported largely by NZFirst MPs who had established a new party.

¹⁷ This coalition lasted less than three years as the Alliance Party split and an early election was called.

government with a further left partner and supporter ended early, it did significantly better than National had and may have done even better had it lasted the full three-year term. Finally, the best performance has been achieved by Labour's second term with a very small similarly positioned partner and centre-right supporter with few demands. This worked well for Labour who has managed to act largely as though it was a single-party majority government. This has resulted in a high fulfilment rate of 82% and illustrated that minority coalition governments can still provide the platform for achieving high policy programme implementation if partners are like-minded and/or compliant. These findings are still very new and it will require the replication of these three quite different scenarios in order to establish whether these situations have introduced patterns or not. The temptation to see a similar positioning of coalition partners on the left-right scale as a positive correlate to fulfilment needs to be measured against the personality politics of leaders who can or cannot work well together, buoyancy of the economy and cumulative experience in working with coalition government. These have all served to assist Labour in improving its performance under MMP.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

This chapter has two major aims. Firstly, it identifies further research opportunities and the policy implications of this kind of research for New Zealand. Secondly, it links the main points from the analysis undertaken in the previous six chapters and embeds these results into the theoretical context of New Zealand, while seeking to identify which political factors may contribute to an explanation of why the manifesto revolution occurred in the 1990s, rather than during another time period.

10.1 FURTHER RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

There are two kinds of research that can be undertaken in regard to policy implementation. The first follows the pattern of this thesis, that is, it links election commitments directly to fulfilment. It presents manifesto planks and then presents evidence supporting the fulfilment of those pledges or the lack thereof. There are many other variables that have not been analysed in this thesis: the relationship between fulfilment and a range of factors were not tested but could include ministerial responsibility, coalition agreements, national economic health, leadership characteristics and style, opposition policy alignment/disalignment, number of seats in parliament, particular interests of party leaders – to name but a few. More work also needs to be done on the similarities and contrasts between majority and minority coalitions and measurement of the ratio of fulfilment for major partners based on the size of their minor compatriots.

In addition, it should not be assumed that patterns and trends for New Zealand apply to other Neo-European states, particularly when there are different electoral systems in operation. Analysis for New Zealand will only reflect trends that have emerged in this unique environment making any comparisons, while interesting and important, of limited application and to be employed with caution. It is also vital to continue doing this kind of analysis, as it is evident that recently, fulfilment rates are

once again returning to multi-term levels in excess of 70% as in the 1970s and early 1980s.

The second type of research relates to the saliency approach. While much of this kind of work has been done overseas and in New Zealand before MMP, this has not been updated to see whether this approach can add to or confirm the findings of the current research. One of the obvious needs relates to effect of MMP on the link between manifesto emphases and public expenditure in an era of coalition government. Inquiries into the direct effects of removing a single parties' control of the public purse on the way public funds are administered require answers, as do the ongoing effects related to minority governments who need assistance from up to two other parties in addition to a coalition partner for confidence and supply. It is important to remember that such analysis becomes more valuable as the effects of manifesto alignment between partners are identified and controlled for.

One of the criticisms that has been levelled at some pledge studies is that without testing opposition policy, it is not clear whether the mandate theory is operating, as while government fulfilment may be at least 50%, opposition policy fulfilment may be even higher (Thomson 1999, p.36). This is definitely an area requiring further research in New Zealand as this thesis has not included opposition pledges. With government fulfilment rates over 80% in some cases it would seem unlikely that the opposition performed better, but this cannot be concluded without the empirical evidence.

Another omission in research on policy implementation in New Zealand relates to the number of pledges made in forms of campaign media other than printed manifestos. All material ultimately needs to be considered. Many of the effects of promise-breaking on voter disillusionment are driven by media decisions outside of the hands of political parties themselves. A life course approach to policy similar to that of Elin Naurin in Sweden could provide valuable insights into the perceptions of the public relating to policy implementation and the extent to which these are imagined or real.

Such research should also include looking at other forms of election promise-making such as newspapers, radio, television, websites and personal interactions. The effects of these in terms of which make the biggest impression on voters requires further research. We do know that secondary sources are more likely to be digested by the electorate than primary policy documents, but it is unclear to what extent these sources change or distort the political parties' policy message.

Another approach which could be employed would code the manifestos in much the same way as the saliency researchers do, but instead of relating this to expenditure, it could be used as a means of determining adherence to policy direction by assessing all of the legislation that is passed in a government term. The nature of legislative change indicates much about whether a political party is moving society towards more left or right-leaning policy agendas in relation to most aspects of civil life. Research should not be restricted to legislation passed into law, but also include Bills introduced into Parliament which were thwarted due to lack of support from other parties or even within the major government party or due to pressure from interest groups or the public, particularly in a minority government situation where it becomes necessary for the Government to drop or substantially change a Bill in order to make it law (Krukones 1984, p.25).

10.2 FROM THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES TO POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The implications of this research in regard to policy could take a number of forms. In order for democratic theory to work effectively in practice, it requires an informed electorate and political actors. A number of informants told me that the reason their government had not been able to fulfil its policies related to economic concerns that developed and emerged once elected. While the Fiscal Responsibility Act has eliminated the secrecy around public accounts, there is still no effective official pricing of policies in New Zealand such as exists in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, after election programmes have been ratified by the party organisations, they are sent to the Central Plan Bureau (CPB), an independent government agency, where the financial implications of the policy proposals contained in these documents are calculated (see Thomson 1999, p.72). In order for parties to have a better idea what their policies would cost, what competing parties policies would accurately cost and so that the voting public have vital information related to the expenditure of taxes when voting, this information could prove helpful. It would also be useful in post-election coalition discussions and hold parties more likely to implement such concrete proposals. They would certainly make evident those that were pie in the sky and those that were realistic and provide objective non-partisan evidence for public debate on

these policies rather than the anecdotal rhetoric that currently fills the void created by the absence of such hard facts.

However, an analysis of the costs and benefits of policy proposals is only one of the solutions to some of the issues raised by this research. Another principle that underpins democratic theory is the idea of accountability. The electorate, it was theorised by Downs, will hold those accountable who break election promises by punishing them at the polls. However, as this research has revealed, there is actually an inverse relationship between policy implementation and electoral support in New Zealand. This may partly be because there is no system in place to make the public aware of the effectiveness of their government in fulfilling its mandated programme. This is largely left to the media who tend to paint a negative picture of the government regardless of its level of performance in this regard. Surely, for the model to work more effectively, there needs to be a non-partisan assessment of how effectively the government has honoured its pledges to the people. This function could be carried out by a similar institution to the one suggested above or perhaps the electoral commission as fulfilment rates such as those presented in this research serve to encourage voter participation as they debunk the negative perception that most voters have about policy implementation and political accountability. This would serve to assist the workings of democracy in New Zealand and encourage participation without compulsory means. It would introduce another element of choice to the political life of the country and ultimately help to ‘keep governments honest’, a factor crucial to the ongoing trust necessary for inclusive democracy over time.

10.3 THE MANIFESTO REVOLUTION IN NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand has, unlike Ireland, undergone a manifesto revolution based on changes in the size of manifestos, the number of pledges they contain and the policies they focus on. This manifesto revolution began in the 1990s and was characterised by a switch to manifestos that were on average only 20% the size of pre-1990 manifestos. This shift was precipitated by a period in the late 1980s in which election policy documents were either hastily put together without full party rigour, or presented to the electorate with limited distribution briefly before the election. It was characterised by a change in attitude towards such documents, whereas previously they had been

given almost Biblical status on the cabinet table by Kirk and Muldoon, they had come to be considered of little significance by key subsequent politicians.

The timing of this shift was also important as attitudes began to change towards manifestos, so to did political performance in relation to the democratic mandate. As the idea of a well-distributed popularly digested manifesto began to wain, the incoming Fourth National Government produced the first of the new-style manifestos which were glossy booklets containing a lot of attractive images, but few concrete policy proposals. This idea had begun with National's 1981 Manifesto, but that was a much larger document. The days of the volume-sized manifesto chocka-block with wall-to-wall promises was gone. Perhaps the idea was, the fewer promises there are, the fewer there are to break.

This was then accompanied by another shift that saw the number of policy areas diminish substantially as manifestos began to focus on major areas of socio-economic interest while the sectoral interests that had previously played such a large role in manifestos, dwindled. Thus, the transition from the book-style manifesto that had become common place in New Zealand from the 1930s to the brochure-style policy document of today was completed. There is a post-script to this revolution. A new stage in the evolution is occurring as political parties now put much more policy material online than they print in booklet form. Indeed, at the 2005 election, National did not produce a printed policy document at all. It seems that in the future, pledge fulfilment researchers will need to consider switching to this medium of communication as the best reflection of a parties' election policies.

10.4 DETERMINANTS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: ESTABLISHING EXPLANATIONS FOR PATTERNS OF PLEDGE FULFILMENT

In establishing explanations for patterns of pledge fulfilment in New Zealand, one cannot look past the overriding impact of five significant variables affecting a parties' ability to implement election policies. These consist of:

1. Being in a position of government.
2. Political will to implement the manifesto commitments.
3. Electoral System.
4. Incumbency
5. Political homogeneity between coalition partners.

While there are undoubtedly a plethora of other factors that influence policy implementation, these five are presented as either necessary criteria or have been shown to be relevant through the present research.

Of absolute importance to the implementation of election policies is the ability to control government. Without this, a party is unable to exert significant enough influence over the tools of implementation in a unicameral system to translate its policy proposals into effective action. While there are examples of opposition parties having more success in fulfilling policies than governing parties in Ireland and the US, these are the result of regularly changing coalition arrangements in Ireland's case and the power of multiple houses of representatives to undermine presidential power in the US.

It may sound absurd, but it is also essential for a party to exert the necessary political will to ensure policy proposals become government actions. The elitist period of 1984-1993 in New Zealand saw lower levels of implementation because powerful finance ministers pursued agendas that did not emerge from a political will to implement manifesto commitments. It was considered that the exigencies of the period surrounding serious budget deficits undermined any will that existed to implement manifesto promises.

Overseas research suggests that single-party Westminster-style governments have high implementation rates while proportionally elected coalition governments perform less well. These findings have been found to be broadly true for New Zealand also. Before 1984, on average parties kept 78% of their election commitments when in government. This dropped to 69% during the elite period, but even this was higher than the average for the MMP period of 62%. This suggests that the electoral system has had an impact on policy implementation for the major parties with FPP being a more effective delivery system than MMP. However, a caveat should be attached here. The current Labour-led Government recorded an average of 73% fulfilment from its first two terms under MMP. If this trend continues, the average for MMP may well ultimately show MMP to be more effective at delivering pledge fulfilment than FPP was during the elite period.

The current research showed a clear and consistent relationship between incumbency and pledge fulfilment. This also fits well with Mansergh's findings in Ireland where length of time in office was found to correlate positively with fulfilment (2003, p.188). It does make sense that the longer a party maintains the reins of power, the greater the degree of control it can exercise over the tools of

implementation. In New Zealand, the only exception to this rule was found to be the third term of the Fourth National Government that was also the only majority coalition government in the study period. It is believed that the unique set of circumstances peculiar to that government term created the anomaly.

Finally, it is suggested here that the political homogeneity of coalition partners and an uneven power relationship favouring the major party more enable that party to enact its election commitments much more easily. The evidence for this can be seen in each of the three completed terms of coalition government under MMP. In 1996, National received a smaller vote share than any major coalition partner has in any election since. Conversely, their coalition partner (NZFirst) received a larger vote share than any minor coalition partner has in any election since. This created a more equal power-sharing arrangement than has existed since. It should also be noted that National is a centre-right party while NZFirst is a centre-left party creating a coalition that straddled the political spectrum. It resulted in major policy concessions from National as Winston Peters (NZFirst Leader) played National and Labour off against each other in a game of kingmaker and ultimately pulled National away from the right-wing policy agenda it had previously been following. It also resulted in New Zealand's only detailed coalition agreement. The partnership lasted less than two years before being reconfigured in a new piecemeal governing coalition. Through all of this, it is not so surprising that National only managed to fulfil half of its 1996 manifesto and make that particular term of government the exception to the rule established in the previous paragraph. In 1999, the situation was very different. Labour received a significantly higher proportion of the vote than National had previously and the Alliance received significantly less than NZFirst had previously. This meant that Labour was clearly in the driving seat rather than sharing the controls. In addition, both parties found themselves on the left of the political spectrum, albeit the Alliance further left than Labour. However, unlike in the previous term, the Alliance kept Labour true to its left-wing agenda and even pulled it further in that direction making it easier for Labour to move in the direction of its own policies resulting in 71% fulfilment. However, due to an internal split in the Alliance, the coalition did not complete a full term, thus undermining its ability to fulfil more pledges than it did. In 2002, from a major party policy implementation perspective, the perfect coalition was formed. Labour secured an even larger vote share than it had in 1999 and its minority partner (Progressives) even less than the Alliance had previously. In addition, both Labour and the Progressives were centre-left parties.

This meant that Labour's policy line was very similar to the Progressives and due to their limited vote share, very few concessions needed to be made anyway and 82% of Labour's election commitments were fulfilled. Thus, it would appear from the limited evidence that has accrued during New Zealand's brief experience with MMP, that political homogeneity between coalition partners and a strong major party in the partnership both correlate positively with policy implementation.

10.5 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND ELECTORAL SUPPORT

It appears evident from the analyses presented in this thesis that the relative performance of parties in government is not rewarded by electoral support. As chapters four to nine have shown, patterns of electoral support are inversely related to pledge fulfilment. This has been found to be the case consistently with the only exception to the rule being the third term of the Fourth National Government. Based on the data analysed, it seems to be of no benefit to a political party to keep their election promises as there is no electoral incentive to do so and this is the basis of Downs' economic theory of democracy. The electorate does not provide an inherent reward to parties for outstanding pledge fulfilment performance, nor do they appear to consistently punish them for poor performance.

One of the most interesting findings regards this relationship between electoral support and policy implementation. The data presented a pattern that is illustrated by Figure 10.1 which schematises the relationship in much the same way as an economic demand-supply equilibrium. Further research is required to determine whether this relationship is causal in any way or merely relational on a superficial level. Whatever the case, it represents a fundamental undermining of the economic theory of democracy. If parties make promises and then largely keep them, but the electorate punish them at the polls for doing so, there is no good reason for parties to make policy in the first place and secondly, no good reason to keep them from an electoral accountability perspective.

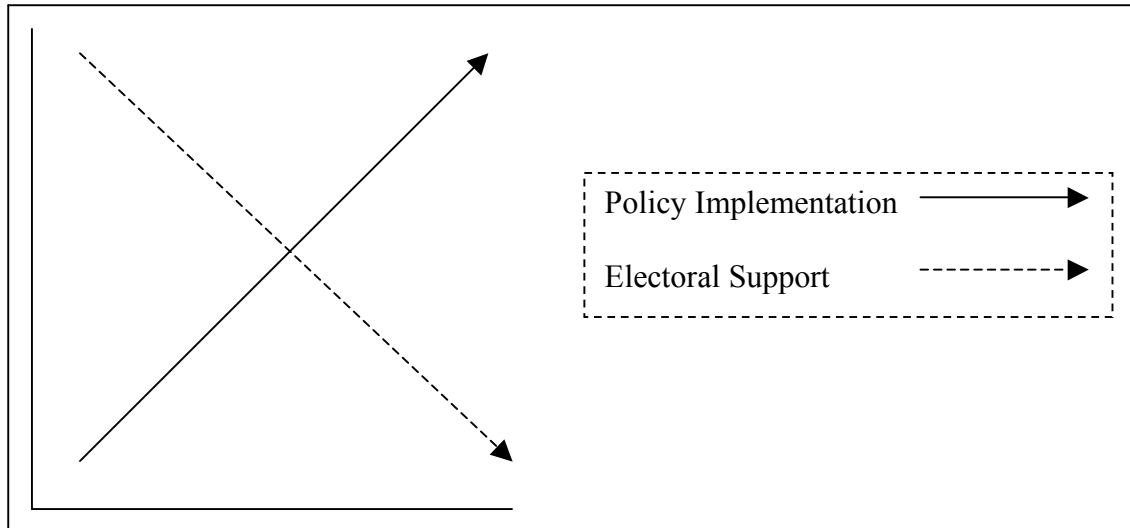


Figure 10.1: Conceptual Inverse Relationship between Policy Implementation and Electoral Support.

Downs' theory is impugned by a number of factors highlighted by this research. Firstly, the assumption that citizens vote rationally and secondly, according to his Proposition 8, that a significant proportion of the electorate decide how to vote on the basis of issues and for these people, the records of each party (especially the incumbents) during the election period just ending are more important to their decisions than party promises about the future (1957, p.298). This presupposes that an accurate record of government performance is kept, but in New Zealand it is not. The current research has shown that there does not appear to be a rational link between a governing parties' pledge fulfilment record and electoral support. This may be because the level of policy implementation is not known and therefore, the economic theory of democracy cannot be tested or it may be because voters are not rational actors or if they are, their rationality regarding party support relates less to election promises and more to other factors outside the scope of this thesis.

10.6 CONCLUSION

An interpretation of the significance of the results presented in this thesis remains in the hands of theorists. However, empirical analysis, such as that contained herein, can help us clarify the relationships between parties, voters and the political system. Some of the relationships between theory and its practical representation have been referred to previously. The ideas of both Downs and Robertson have been used extensively as

a theoretical basis of analysis in most pledge fulfilment research and this was discussed in Chapter Two. While this thesis has not fully examined the validity of Robertson's claim that parties talk past each other by focusing on different policy issues, it is clear that economic policy became a focus for both of the major parties between 1996-9 representing direct conflict in this area, at least. It has also raised questions about the validity of Downs' thesis that party democracy is maintained through a system of electoral rewards for honouring a manifesto-based mandate. Such rewards have not accrued to parties who increase their pledge fulfilment performance, indeed the reverse can be said to be true in the New Zealand context.

This research has also assisted in the development of the body of policy implementation information internationally, both through the introduction of unique examples and comparatively. Figure 10.2 provides a graphic illustration of the level of policy implementation achieved in various countries. New Zealand under FPP finds itself in the top three of this group of 13 and fourth overall, but in the bottom half under MMP just above the US. This indicates that New Zealand parties were doing a comparatively effective job of translating election policy into action prior to MMP, but that even since MMP, implementation rates are on average higher than a number of other democracies such as the US, France, the Netherlands and Ireland. When taking MMP into the whole mix, New Zealand still fares well by international standards reflecting a general trend for parties to perform according to their pledged mandate when in government.

This research has identified and presented a significant contribution to our knowledge of the way the democratic mandate operates in New Zealand. Herein, lies clear evidence that the number of promises made in election manifestos has decreased over recent years and that this phenomena is not party or system specific, but relates to other broader changes in political attitudes and methods of communication. Almost without exception, main government parties have been shown to be more likely than not to keep their election promises and this is equally true for both Labour and National when in government. Before 1984, policy implementation rates were shown to be highest, with average rates being lower from 1984 to 1996.

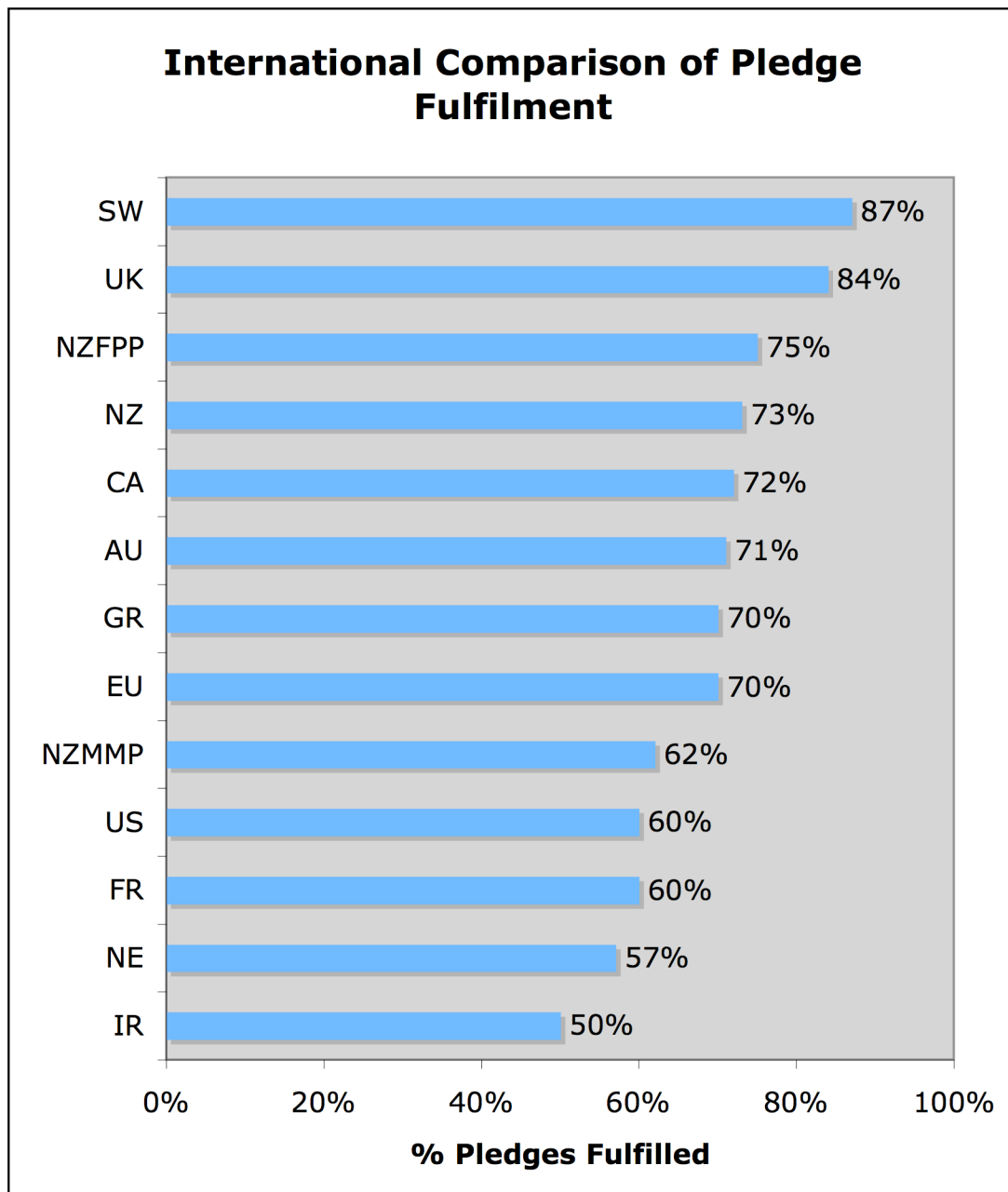


Fig.10.2 An International Comparison of Pledge Fulfilment Levels¹⁸

Overall, however, pledge fulfilment rates for the major governing parties were higher under both FPP periods than under MMP on average, but there is not yet sufficient long-term evidence to conclude that MMP will ultimately prove to be a less

¹⁸ It should be noted that these results have been obtained using a variety of methodological differences within the pledge approach system and should therefore be compared with caution. Sources for country data from top to bottom: Sweden (SW) – 1994-2002, Naurin 2007; UK – 1979-87, Royed 1992; NZFPP (New Zealand under the First-Past-the-Post electoral system) – 1972-96, Author; NZ (New Zealand Overall) – 1972-2005, *ibid*; Canada (CA) – 1956-79, Rallings 1987; Australia (AU) – 1928-63, Barrett 1963; Greece (GR) – 1974-89, Kalogeropoulou 1993; EU – 1999-2004, Naver & Urombi 2007; NZMMP (New Zealand under the Mixed Member Proportional electoral system) – 1996-2005, Author; US – 1980-88, Royed 1992; France (FR) – 1997-2007, Holmqvist 2007; The Netherlands – 1986-98, Thomson 1999; Ireland (IR) – 1977-97, Mansergh 2003.

effective system for translating voter support for policy programmes into government action for the main governing parties as the most recently concluded term has produced a high rate of fulfilment for Labour. Coinciding with the shift to smaller printed manifestos has been a move towards a greater emphasis on high profile socio-economic issues such as health, housing, education, welfare and the economy and this is shared by both Labour and National, even though, historically, National gave much more manifesto space to sectoral interests than Labour before the restructuring period commencing in 1984. Definitive relationships were found to exist between incumbency and promise-keeping with higher levels of policy implementation positively correlating in almost all cases with a return to government for a second or third term. This appeared to have no bearing on electoral support which invariably dropped away after a second or third term in office regardless of increased pledge fulfilment. Electoral system effects were proposed, but exactly how these function needs to be the subject of further inquiry. It is suggested that the size and political orientation of a coalition partner may have a relevant bearing on a major coalition partners' ability to implement their policy programme with early evidence from New Zealand supporting this theory. It may be that the results from this research raise more questions than they answer. On the other hand, they have revealed a level of policy implementation in New Zealand that fits favourably in comparison with other countries. However, there are some thought-provoking anomalies amongst the results that make the New Zealand case unique. Therefore, the significance of the findings outlined in this thesis should not be underestimated as they are not only very real, they offer a key to better understanding the most important principle in our political system – democracy.

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